$1.95

JANUARY 30, 1987

WHAT OLLIE NORTH IS HOLDING BACK—Page

NATIONAL REVIEW

MG0710304809 0088701 P 050 I
ROY E SMITH
PO BOX 1779
COLORADO SPGS CO 80901

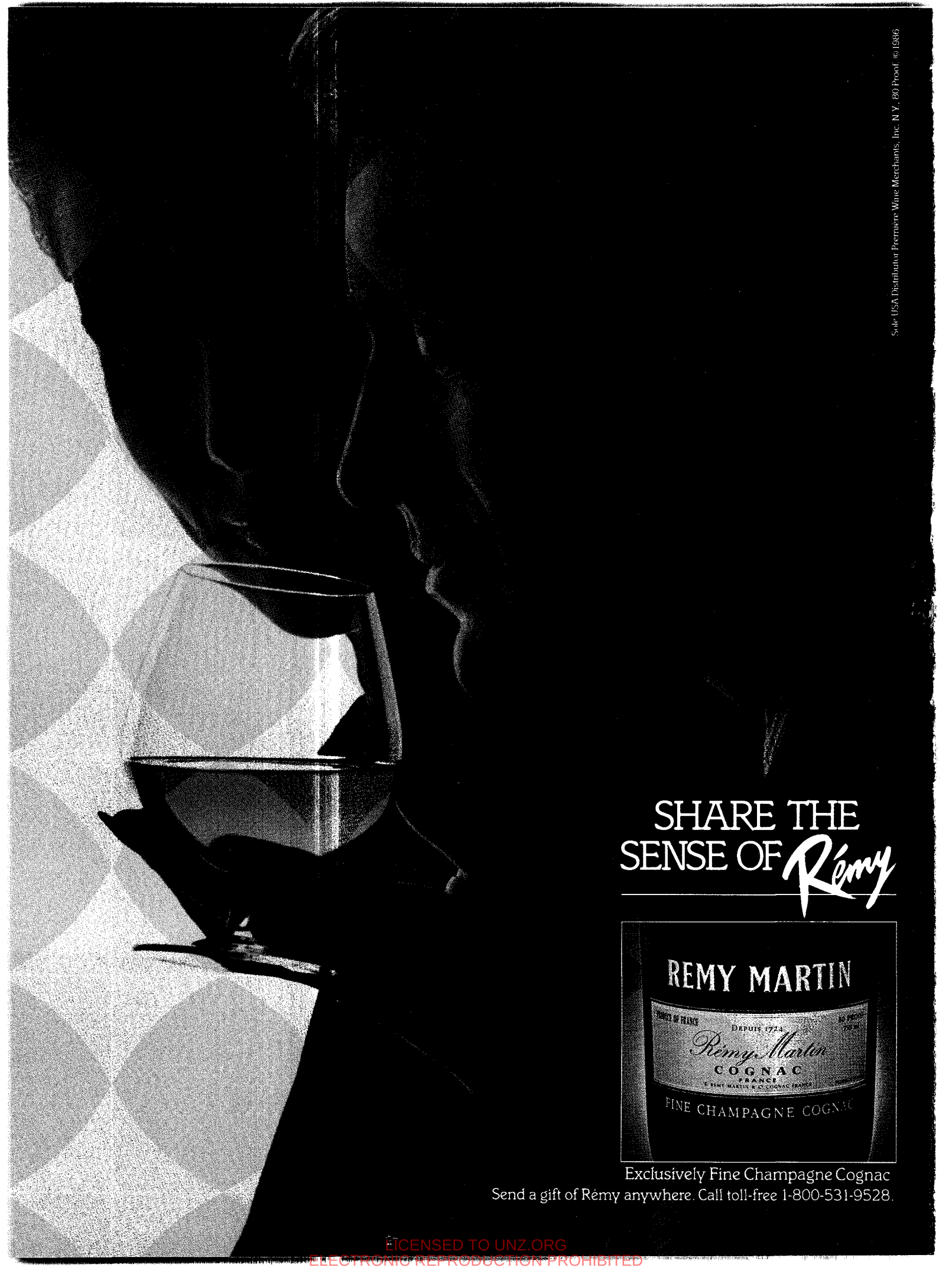
IRANDEAL

The Forces at Play

Richard Brookhiser • Neil C. Livingstone

DINESH D'SOUZA ON
WHAT THE SOVIETS THINK
ABOUT AMERICAN LIBERALS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TAKE ANY 3 FOR $1.00 EACH

(with Trial Membership)

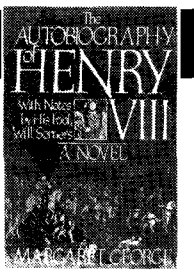
(First price is publishers' list.
Boldface shows Members' Price.)

EMPIRES AND THEIR LEGACIES

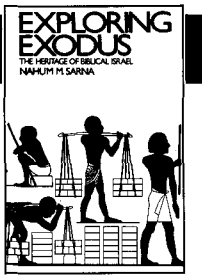
1339. **The Discovery Of King Arthur,** *by Geoffrey Ashe.* Extracts fact from legend in search of the "once and future king." $18.95/**$14.95**

4390. **The Riddle Of The Dinosaur,** *by John N. Wilford.* Rise and fall of the most extraordinary beasts to walk the earth. $22.95/**$16.50**

7047. **Ancient History: Evidence And Models,** *by M.I. Finley.* What we can & what we can never know about the Graeco-Roman world. $17.95/**$14.50**

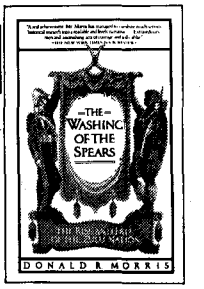


3509. $19.95/**$15.95**



2246. $17.95/**$15.50**

A3475. $49.95/**$32.95**
(Counts as 2 of your 3 selections.)



2436. $21.95/**$15.50**

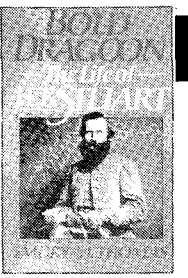
STATESMEN, GENERALS & THE RULING CLASS

1446. **The March Of Folly: From Troy To Vietnam,** *by Barbara Tuchman.* How governments have sabotaged themselves. $18.95/**$13.95**

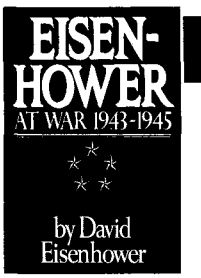
2089. **Kitchener: The Man Behind The Legend,** *by Philip Warner.* A great, faulted & committed human being—Britain's super-hero. $15.95/**$12.95**

2360. **The Education Of Julius Caesar: A Biography, A Reconstruction,** *by Arthur Kahn.* Hails Rome's outstanding leader. $28.50/**$18.50**

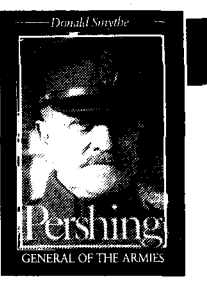
4416. **Our Tempestuous Day: A History Of Regency England,** *by Carolly Erickson.* An opulent yet tragic age vividly portrayed. $18.95/**$15.50**



7914. $22.95/**$16.95**



1917. $29.95/**$22.50**



6171. $27.50/**$18.50**

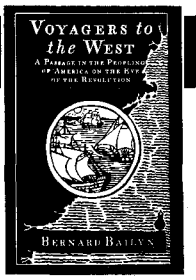
3244. $29.95/**$19.95**

TIMELESS ISSUES, ENDURING IDEAS

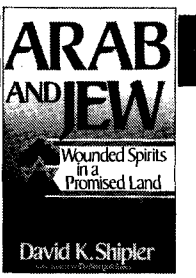
3012. **The Bible As History, 2nd Revised Ed.,** *by Werner Keller.* Archaeology and science document biblical history. $14.95/**$10.95**

4911. **The Structures Of Everyday Life: The Limits Of The Possible, 15th-18th Century (Civilization And Capitalism, Vol. I),** *by Fernand Braudel.* Socioeconomics. $31.95/**$15.50**

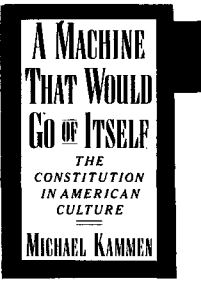
5264. **Novus Ordo Seclorum: The Intellectual Origins Of The Constitution,** *by Forrest McDonald.* A splendid achievement. $25.00/**$17.00**



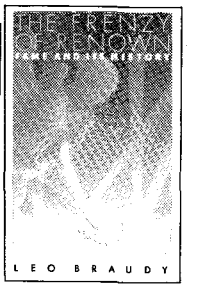
2279. $30.00/**$18.50**



2402. $22.50/**$17.50**



2485. $29.95/**$19.95**



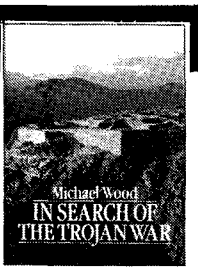
2899. $27.50/**$18.50**

THE WARRING WORLD

8284. **The Devil's Horsemen: The Mongol Invasion Of Europe,** *by James Chambers.* The story of the Golden Horde. $11.95/**$8.95**

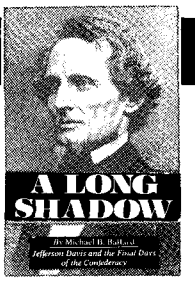
4648. **Hitler's Mistakes,** *by Ronald Lewin.* The Fuehrer's shortcomings—his persistent errors of judgment & unnecessary actions. $14.95/**$12.50**

1859. **The Celts: The People Who Came Out Of The Darkness,** *by Gerhard Herm.* An epic study of 2,000 years. $15.00/**$10.50**



4879. $22.95/**$16.95**

3376. $20.00/**$15.95**



2394. $22.50/**$16.50**

4523. $19.95/**$14.95**

Save on the best recent history titles. Including this Introductory Offer, you can save more than 30% during your initial Trial Membership, on some of the finest history books being published today. Our list covers a wide variety of topics, such as American personalities, Civil War, European history, science and religious thought.

We don't sacrifice quality. The History Book Club always offers its members quality publishers' editions, never "economy" reprints. All our books are available to members at truly substantial savings.

Choose any 3 for $1.00 each. Simply select any three books shown on this page — for just $1.00 each when you take a fourth book at the low Members' Price. Every month you will be able to choose additional selections from the 150 to 200 books described in the Club's magazine. You need take only four more selections during the next two years, always at the low Members' Price. Once you have completed your initial membership, you can qualify for additional savings through Bonus Books that you can select from our entire list.

How the Club works. Approximately every four weeks (14 times a year), you will receive our *Review* and a dated reply card. If you want the Editors' Choice, do nothing — the book will come automatically. If you want another book, or no book at all, return the card by the date specified. (Book shipments will be charged to your account at low Members' Prices, plus postage and packing.)

If you should receive an unwanted book because you had less than 10 days to decide, you may return it and pay nothing. We guarantee postage.

BA87A

THE HISTORY BOOK CLUB, DEPT. N,

40 Guernsey Street, Box 790, Stamford, CT 06904-0790

Please enroll me as a Trial Member and send me the four books whose numbers I have listed below. Bill those on the left at $1.00 each and the fourth at the low Members' Price, plus postage and packing.

[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

I may return the books within three weeks at your expense and owe nothing. Or, I will buy four more selections within the next two years, *not including my choices above.* I can cancel my membership anytime thereafter. All Club purchases are at low Members' Prices, and a postage-and-packing fee is added to all shipments. NZ0315SP

Print Name_____

Address_____ Apt.#_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

In Canada: Mail to U.S. Address

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JANUARY 30, 1987
VOL. XXXIX, NO. 1

NATIONAL REVIEW

BROOKHISER

D'SOUZA

HORNE

McDONALD

IRAN GAMES

34 The Public Brawl, the Secret War
The scandal-mongering over the Iran deal obscures the political battle being waged over the question: Who controls America's foreign policy, the President or the cacophonous Congress? *Richard Brookhiser*

37 What Ollie North Told Me before He Took the Fifth
Now it's called a scandal, but the Iran deal may turn out to have been Reagan's finest hour. *Neil C. Livingstone*

ARTICLES & COLUMNS

28 Year of the Donkey
With the White House in disarray and top Republicans "heading for the tall grass," the Reagan Revolution may grind to a halt in the 100th Congress. *John McLaughlin*

30 The Fragile Polity
Democracy is a puzzle: How can a system of government be so absurd and yet so invincible? *Brian Crozier*

39 What the Soviets Think about American Liberals
No longer do the Soviets consider all Americans "bourgeois vultures." Some politicians get the Kremlin's stamp of approval. Guess which ones. *Dinesh D'Souza*

42 A Rejoinder from Dmitri Nabokov
Vladimir Nabokov was more than a great writer; he was also a good man. *Dmitri Nabokov*

44 Macmillan Remembered
He was Winston Churchill's protégé, Maggie Thatcher's mentor, and one of the most important Tory leaders in our time. *Alistair Horne*

BOOKS ARTS & MANNERS

54 **Wayne Lutton** tackles *The Surgeon General's Report on Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome* and uncovers factual errors and facile solutions. . . . David Halberstam's *The Reckoning* is a 728-page tribute to the allure of masochism, says **David Brooks**. . . . **Forrest McDonald** is humbled by the amazing amount of research needed to produce a book as tedious and incomprehensible as David Eisenhower's *Eisenhower at War, 1943-1945*. . . . Harper & Row's publication of Michael Ffinch's *G. K. Chesterton* makes it official: The Chesterton revival is for keeps, says **John P. McCarthy**. . . . George William Rutler's *The Four Last Things* is manna for those who hunger for transcendence. **Michael Liccione** feasts. . . . **John Simon** recoils from Denys Arcand's *Le Déclin de l'empire américain*. . . . In Neal B. Freeman's upcoming PBS special, *The Conservatives*, talking heads take us on a pleasant stroll down memory lane, says **Terry Teachout**. . . . **D. Keith Mano** visits an Episcopal service and rejoices in apostasy.

6 LETTERS
15 FOR THE RECORD
16 THE WEEK
31 CAPITAL BULLETINS
48 hel[2]
50 FROM THE CONTINENT
52 PILGRIM
64 THE RIGHT BOOKS
70 ON THE RIGHT
74 TRANS-O-GRAM

Cover design by Anna Lieber. Cover photograph by Don Brewster. Microphone courtesy of RCI, N.Y. Mont Blanc pen courtesy of M. M. Lane, N.Y. Gun courtesy of Toy Park, N.Y. Military attire courtesy of Kaufman's Surplus, Inc., Army & Navy, N.Y. Robes courtesy of Universal Costume Co., N.Y. Models: Nancy Miller, Paolo Coppola, Michael Ashton, Stuart Stein, Bob Mack, Henry Klingeman.

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. and additional mailing offices. © National Review, Inc., 1987. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editors, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc. to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct all display advertising questions to The Leadership Network at 212-684-5500.

RATES: $34.00 a year (25 issues). Add $11.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

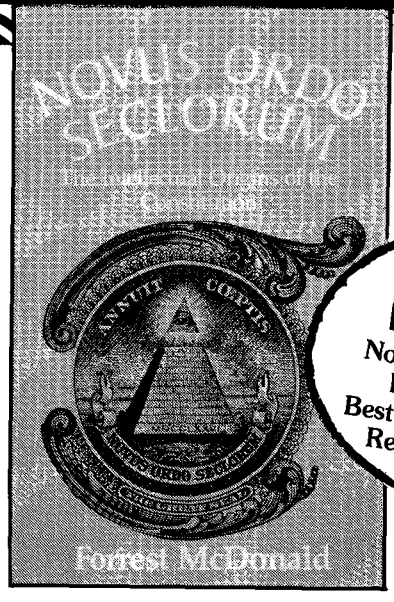
Restores the original meaning of our Constitution —just in time for the Bicentennial

Professor Forrest McDonald of the University of Alabama is conservatism's foremost Constitutional authority, and perhaps America's. The Pulitzer Prize committee generally sticks to safe, respectable liberal authors. But they couldn't ignore this major book. The praise is pouring in from conservative heavyweights — and also from historians with imposing credentials:

RUSSELL KIRK, *Reflections:* "Vigorously and wittily written, and it makes the framing of the Constitution interesting all over again, even for people who have read much on the subject over the years. Its portraits of the individual Framers are careful and candid, and healthily iconoclastic when there is need for correction of pious errors."

STANLEY N. KATZ, Princeton: "This is McDonald's best book and, indeed, the best single volume on the origins of the U.S. Constitution and the accomplishment of the Constitutional Convention of 1787. . . . Most of *Novus Ordo Seclorum* is devoted to a rigorous analysis of 18th-century thought (political theory, political economy, and law). It is solidly grounded in the most recent scholarship and based upon a very original reading of the primary sources. McDonald writes with uncommon grace; the book is a pleasure to read, but it is nevertheless densely and vigorously argued. . . . no reader will regret the hours devoted to this work."

M. E. BRADFORD, *National Review:* "The stature of Forrest McDonald as an interpreter of the confluence of language, thought, and action that issued in the United States Constitution was extraordinary even before the publication of his most recent consideration of that subject. Now . . . his authority is unequaled — magisterial . . . . of inestimable value . . . McDonald's masterpiece is



Yours FREE!
Nominated for the Pulitzer Prize • Winner of the Best Book Award, American Revolution Round Table

the reconstruction of an intellectual milieu. . . . Conservatives in particular should therefore salute his achievement as not merely an intellectual feat but an unparallelled act of service to the Republic. . . "

LANCE BANNING, author of *The Jeffersonian Persuasion:* "More enjoyable and more provocative than anything I've seen on the Constitutional Convention for a very long time. . . . finely crafted, humorous, and learned."

CHARLES R. KESLER, *American Spectator:* "Like all of his works, this one displays at once an encyclopedic learning and a biographer's sense of character that make his retelling of a familiar story always new, vital, and unexpected. Somehow he finds angles to work that no one else has seen or seen so well."

How to get this $25 *masterpiece* FREE

How the Club Works

Every 4 weeks (13 times a year) you get a free copy of the Club Bulletin which offers you the Featured Selection plus a good choice of Alternates — all of interest to conservatives. ★ If you want the Featured Selection, do nothing; it will come automatically. ★ If you don't want the Featured Selection, or you do want an Alternate, indicate your wishes on the handy card enclosed with your Bulletin and return it by the deadline date. ★ The majority of Club books will be offered at 20-50% discounts, plus a charge for shipping and handling. ★ As soon as you buy and pay for 3 books at regular Club prices, your membership may be ended at any time, either by you or by the Club. ★ If you ever receive a Featured Selection without having had 10 days to decide if you want it, you may return it at Club expense for full credit. ★ Good service. No computers! ★ The Club will offer regular Superbargains, mostly at 70-90% discounts plus shipping and handling. Superbargains do NOT count toward fulfilling your Club obligation, but do enable you to buy fine books at giveaway prices. ★ Only one membership per household.

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB

15 Oakland Avenue • Harrison, N.Y. 10528

Please accept my membership in the Club and send FREE my copy of Forrest McDonald's $25 *Novus Ordo Seclorum*. I agree to buy 3 additional books at regular Club prices over the next 18 months. I also agree to the Club rules spelled out in this coupon.

NR–113

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NR
NATIONAL REVIEW

William F. Buckley Jr. *Editor*
William A. Rusher *Publisher*
James P. McFadden
Consultant to the Editor

Editors
Priscilla L. Buckley / Jeffrey Hart
Joseph Sobran / Chilton Williamson Jr.

Richard Brookhiser *Managing Editor*
Linda Bridges *Executive Editor*
Richard Vigilante *Article Editor*
John McLaughlin *Washington Editor*

Associate Publisher
Edward A. Capano

Contributing Editors
Tom Bethell / Brian Crozier
Werner J. Dannhauser / W. H. von Dreele
Nika Hazelton / David R. Henderson
D. Keith Mano / Richard John Neuhaus
William F. Rickenbacker / John Simon
Ralph de Toledano / Ernest van den Haag
Timothy J. Wheeler

Associates
Maggie Gallagher / Peter J. Garvey
Bob Mack / Jane Buckley Smith
Catherine Tangney

Frances Bronson *Executive Secretary*
Dorothy McCartney *Research Director*
John J. Virtes *Librarian*
Anna Lieber *Art Director*
Ione Whitlock *Production Editor*
Dorothy B. Humanitzki *Copy Editor*
Rose Flynn DeMaio *Treasurer*

Advertising Director
Robert F. Sennott Jr.

Circulation Manager
Sylvia Wolinsky

Fulfillment Manager
Jason Ng

Contributors
Aram Bakshian Jr. / David Brooks
David Brudnoy / Christopher Buckley
James Burnham / John Chamberlain
Mona Charen / Dinesh D'Souza
M. Stanton Evans / Mary Gauerke
George Gilder / Victor Gold
Donald Hall / Malcolm Hancock
Henry Hazlitt / Charles R. Kesler
John Kiley / James Jackson Kilpatrick
Nicholas King / Jan Lukas
Forrest McDonald / Charles Burton Marshall
Jeffrey Meyers / Thomas Molnar
Joe Mysak / Gerhart Niemeyer
Michael Novak / Walter Olson
Grover Rees III / Joseph A. Rehyansky
Alan Reynolds / Selden Rodman
Francis Russell / Michael A. Scully
J. O. Tate / Terry Teachout
S. L. Varnado / Charles Wallen Jr.

Foreign Contributors
Anthony Lejeune *London*
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn *Munich*
Donald Coxe *Toronto*
Robert S. Strother *Cuernavaca*

LETTERS

Stalemate

I've learned a certain amount about SDI over the last few years—enough to know that most of what's said in the media is as far off the mark as SDI critics claim these weapons would be. Your Christmas-issue triptych on the Space Shield ["Special SDI Update," Dec. 31] is the first comprehensively sensible thing about it that I've seen addressed to the general public.

Jack Kemp hit the bull's-eye by bringing into the open the question of the risks and advantages of taking all the defense research that had been going on under dozens of government agencies and putting it under one umbrella. There are some pretty bright defense experts who would disagree with his conclusion (they feel that we were better off before, with this research just quietly going on outside the glare of publicity), but the reason I agree with Kemp is provided by your second author, Stan Evans: The MAD doctrine of mutual assured destruction had got such a strong hold on the American psyche that the chance of throwing it off was worth the risk. Finally, Simon Worden's calm, matter-of-fact explanation of how much we've *already* accomplished laid to rest the tired "we don't know if it will work" argument. The Steven Spielberg/George Lucas weapons may come along in due course; but the weapons we're talking about for right now are simply the new generation of things we've been developing, testing, and refining for more than twenty years.

A final point: Strategic defense is often talked about as something that would either undermine "arms control" or be made irrelevant by it. Evans shoots down the latter argument by showing that the closer the number of nuclear weapons in the world approaches to zero, the more crucial the precise balance of forces becomes: There's much more difference between twenty and fifty than there is between 920 and 950; and if you have no way of verifying that your enemy hasn't kept a score of weapons in reserve, you'd better have defenses to cover the gap. As for the first argument, Worden suggests that effective defenses are the best arms control there is: The Soviets have never been stopped from doing anything by a paper agreement; but they are chess players, and they don't normally attack the king if queen, bishop, and knight are all blocking the way.

Bob Tilliard
Cambridge, Mass.

Back in the Doghouse

In regard to Joseph Sobran's fine article, "Bishop in the Doghouse" [Dec. 19], I have but one small suggestion: transfer Archbishop Hunthausen to Latvia and Archbishop Weakland to Bulgaria. I'm sure that some prelate in the Vatican could find a plausible reason for doing this. Say, because of their outstanding sensitivity on human rights and their work in the nuclear-freeze movement.

This arrangement would benefit everyone. The Russians would gain two weak-minded puppets for disinformation-dispersal purposes. The Vatican would be rid of one public-relations headache. The Archdiocese of Seattle could return to normal. And the rest of us Roman Catholics could relax, knowing that we had been spared "Save the Gays" Masses.

Joseph R. Gracia
Silver Spring, Md.

Regarding Archbishop Hunthausen and his refusal to pay his taxes, by his own admission he doesn't render unto Caesar what is Caesar's. The inference stands that he doesn't render fully unto God either.

Matt Ryan
Bremerton, Wash.

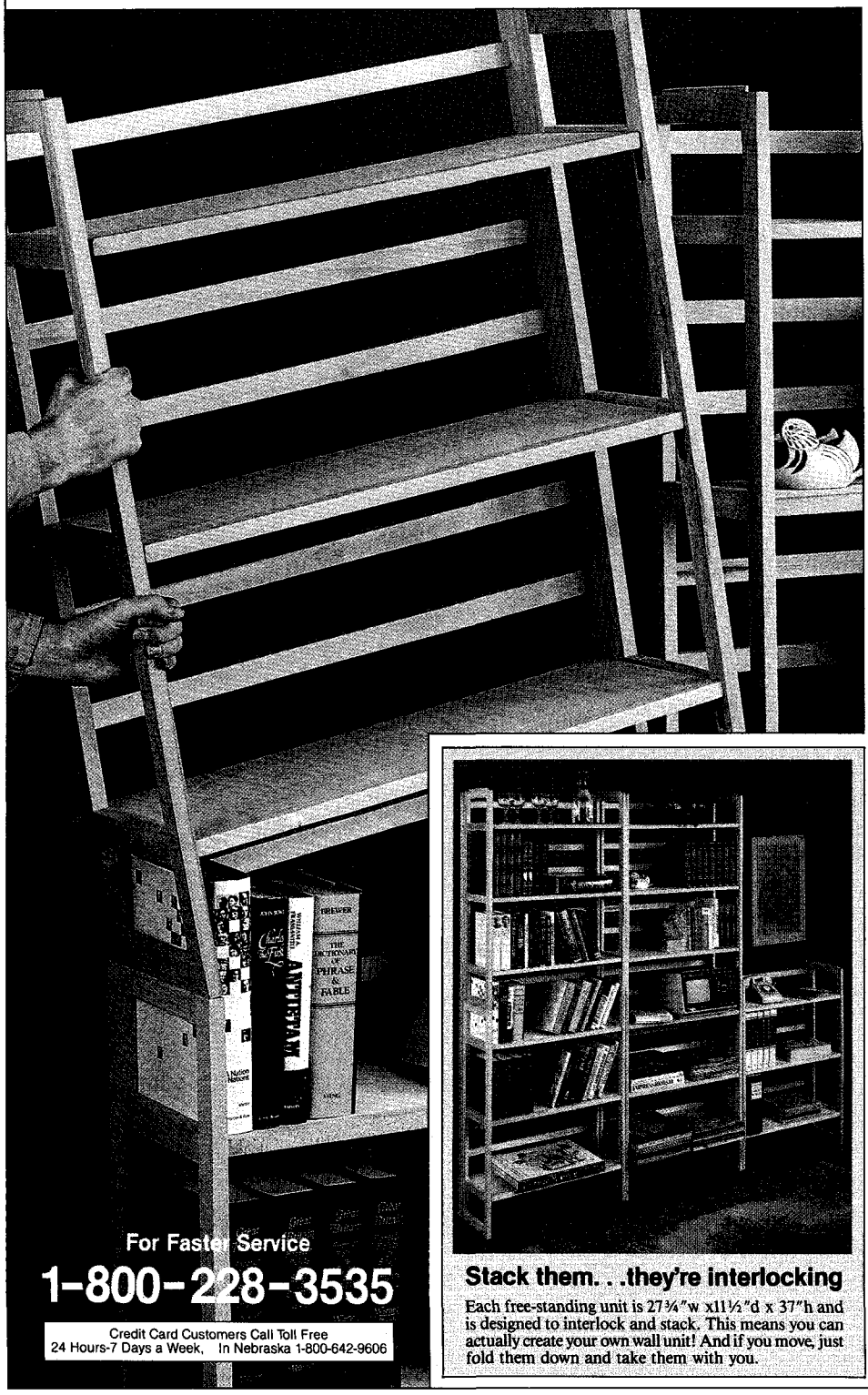
The Hemingway of Life

From the two reviews by Matthew J. Bruccoli and Jeffrey Meyers in the January 31 issue through Meyers's "A Modern Byron" in the December 19 issue, 1986 was a banner year for ol' Papa. Just what is *NR*'s fixation with Hemingway anyway? He has about as much to do with conservatism as the Kremlin does. He was militantly environmentalist and anti-intellectual, a hack who wrote what the critics demanded, and he viciously smeared the noble John Dos Passos during the Spanish Civil War, when Dos woke up, waxed honest, and saw that the Left was equally capable of atrocity. Hem claimed that the "New York reviewers will never let you get away with it!" Dos's wife, Katharine Smith, shot back: "That's the most despicably opportunistic thing I've ever heard." That hurt the Monster from

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sturdy, Stackable Natural Beechwood Bookshelves

At a price you would expect to pay for plastic!



Stack them. . .they're interlocking

Each free-standing unit is 27¾"w x11½"d x 37"h and is designed to interlock and stack. This means you can actually create your own wall unit! And if you move, just fold them down and take them with you.

Perfect for books, display or storage

This quality shelving system is made of natural European beechwood. A hard wood tough enough to be used for flooring and beautiful enough to be used for fine furniture. Do not confuse this item with "wood tone" or plastic imitations. Our low price is made possible by volume purchases, not by inferior material.

Sets up in seconds... without tools!

No tools, screws or glue required. Just take it out of its flat carton, fold the sides out, and the shelves practically fall into place. And, natural beechwood is attractive. . . even unfinished. So the unit can be used immediately. Of course, you can also stain, varnish, or paint them if you prefer.

1. Open hinged sides. 2. Lower shelves into place. 3. You're done! Ready to interlock and stack!

NEW LOW PRICE

List Price $59.95

NOW ONLY $39.95

AVAILABLE BY MAIL ONLY

Barnes & Noble
Booksellers Since 1873
Dept. H251, 126 Fifth Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10011

1066018. Please send me____sturdy beechwood shelf unit(s) at your special sale price of $39.95 (plus $6.95 shipping and insurance, per unit). N.Y. and N.J. Residents: Please add sales tax.

Name

Address

City

State Zip

Charge It ☐ **VISA** ☐ **AMEX** ☐ **MC**

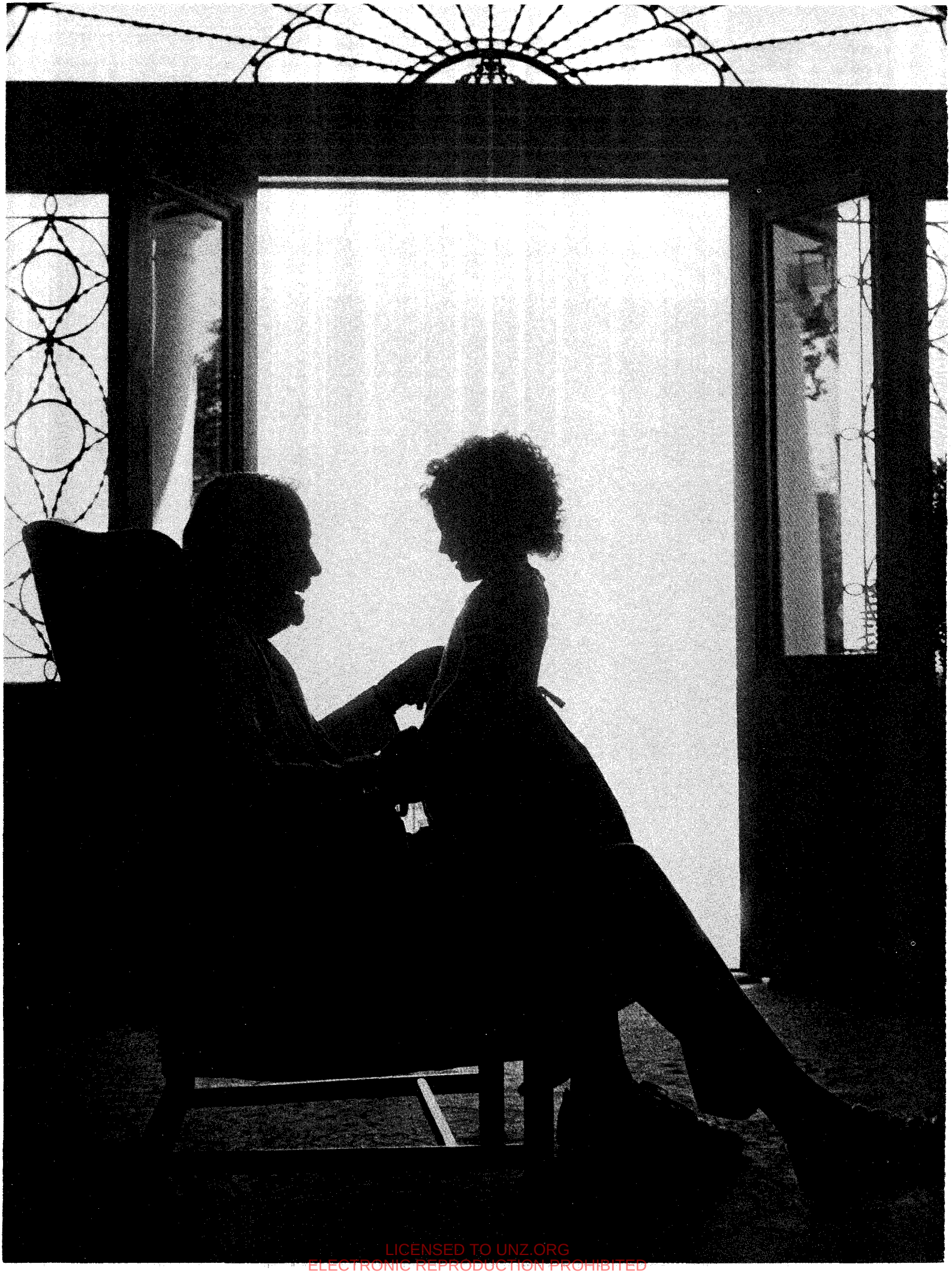
Account # Exp.

Signature

30 Day Money-Back Guarantee

Our low price for this European import is only $39.95 per unit (plus $6.95 shipping and insurance per unit)... probably less than you would have to pay for a comparable unit in plastic. And as with all items you purchase by mail from Barnes & Noble, you may return it within 30 days for a full refund or credit to your charge card.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Issues of the Information Age:

PROMISES KEPT, PROMISES TO KEEP.

At the beginning of this century, Theodore N. Vail, president of AT&T, understood his competition not just as other telephone companies, but as distance, loneliness, separation. He foresaw that the success of his company could end the geographic isolation of man. And, in ending that isolation, the company's success would be assured. The vision became reality: by the mid-'70s, America had universal telephone service.

Today, as the Information Age has begun, there is a new kind of isolation. People are awash in a mounting sea of information, yet unable to connect or work with information in an orderly, useful form; that is, with the world's knowledge. Often, information machines do little to help. They are difficult to use, rigid in their demands, generally unable to work with any but their own kind.

To overcome this new kind of isolation, we have a new vision: to make the Information Age universal, to help build a worldwide Telecommunity, not just open to all, but inviting.

At AT&T, we are now working toward the day when people around the world will be able to handle information in any form—conversation, data, images, text—as easily as they make a phone call today. And they will be able to get information in a form they can use, whenever they need it, from wherever it is.

We envision a vast global network of networks, the merging of communications and computers, linking devices so incredibly capable, they will bend to the will of human beings, rather than forcing humans to bend to theirs.

Obviously, no one company, no one nation, can universalize the Information Age. It will take the best minds of many companies and many nations. The needs of our customers are creating imperatives for our industry. We need common standards and compatibility. We need national and international policies that are open and encouraging. And we need to make information machines far easier to use.

We have the science to construct the systems now. The technology is rapidly taking shape.

We are dedicating our minds, our energy, our resources—our future—to making Telecommunity a reality.

To bringing the best of the Information Age to the world.

Our vision has its roots in AT&T's heritage of service. Just as the telephone extended the reach of the human voice, Telecommunity will extend the reach and capability of minds and talents.

Telecommunity is our goal. Technology is our means.℠

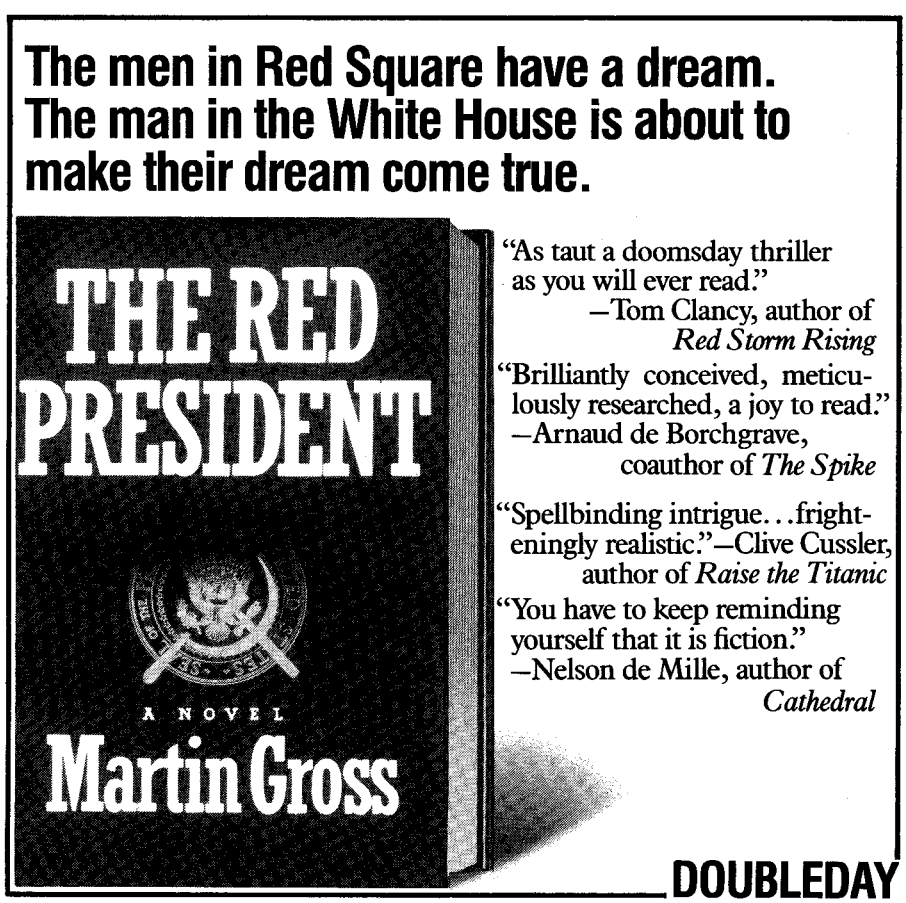
We're committed to leading the way.

AT&T

©AT&T 1986

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SPONTANEOUS
COMBUSTION
John McLaughlin fuels the fire while respected journalists Jack Germond, Morton Kondracke, and Robert Novak provide informative and often explosive opinions.
Join them all on the McLaughlin Group. It just might be the freshest, boldest, most incisive political show on the air.
Don't miss it. The people who run this country never do.
The McLaughlin Group
Made possible by a grant from GE.
Check local listings for station and time.
A REGISTERED TRADEMARK OF GENERAL ELECTRIC COMPANY


The men in Red Square have a dream.
The man in the White House is about to make their dream come true.
THE RED PRESIDENT
A NOVEL
Martin Gross
"As taut a doomsday thriller as you will ever read."
—Tom Clancy, author of Red Storm Rising
"Brilliantly conceived, meticulously researched, a joy to read."
—Arnaud de Borchgrave, coauthor of The Spike
"Spellbinding intrigue...frighteningly realistic."—Clive Cussler, author of Raise the Titanic
"You have to keep reminding yourself that it is fiction."
—Nelson de Mille, author of Cathedral
DOUBLEDAY

Mount Kisco. He loved Katharine, who was the real-life sister of Nick Adams's fictional friend, Bill Smith. She—and not Hem's second wife—also served as the model for Catherine, David Bourne's wife in the most recently published book, *Garden of Eden*. She was, in addition, Lulie in Dos's autobiographical classic, *Chosen Country*, wherein she marries Jay Pignatelli (Dos) and snubs the snot-nosed, dirty-fingernailed George Elbert Warner (our hero). The hilarious excerpt from Georgie Warner's first byline is the most devastating parody of Hemingway ever written. So let the liberals and modernists glorify Hemingway if they will, because the only thing that's "conservative" about him is a pronounced homophobia and love of big guns. With friends like these . . .

Bob Mack
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Adams Blew It

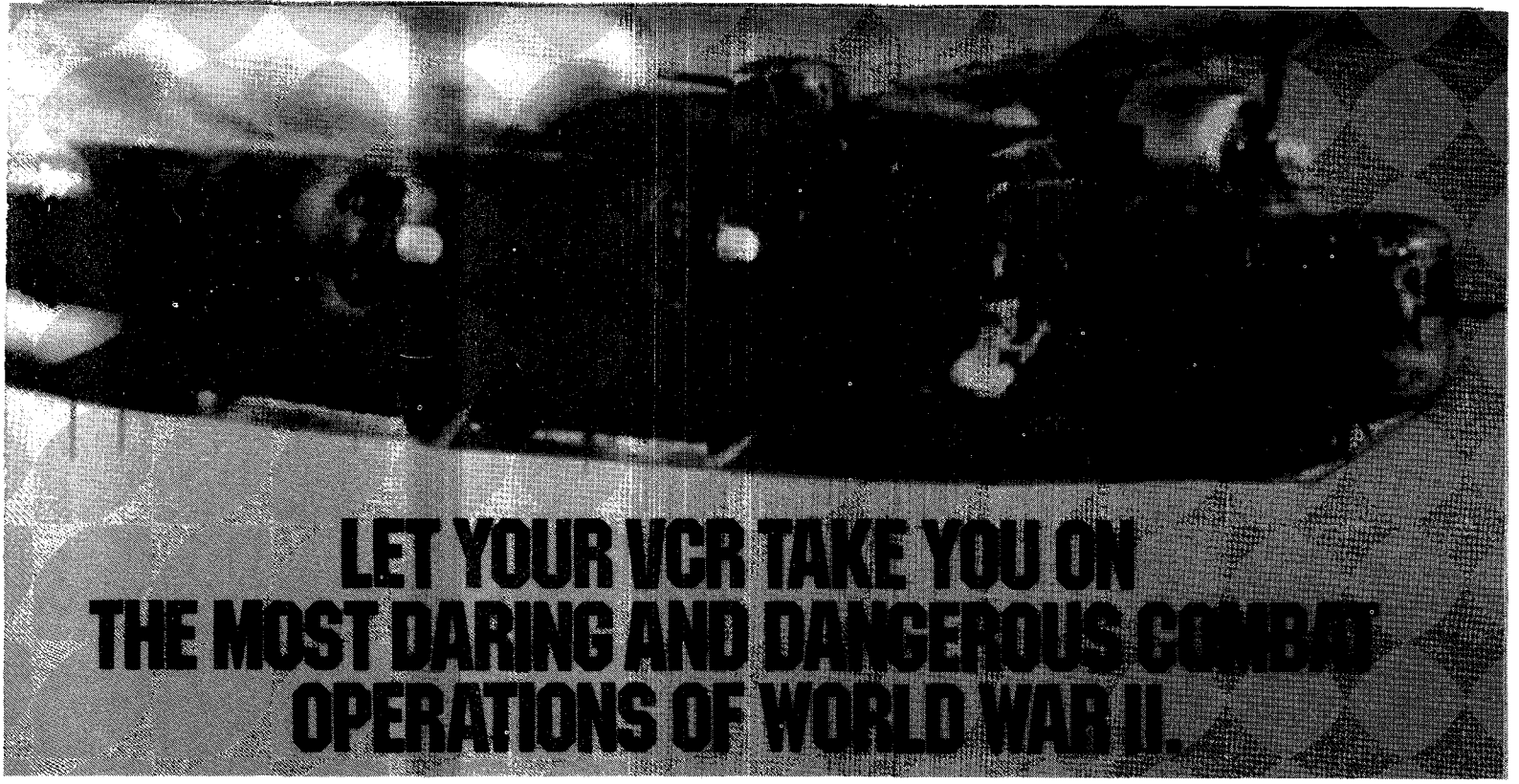
The tragically erroneous eulogy of the late Sherman Adams ["The Week," Nov. 21], a very rare mistake on your part, cannot go unchallenged. Adams personified the most glaring features of Republican me-tooism, including collaboration with leftist media hounds and acceptance of the mistakes and misdeeds of the Democratic Party. Thanks to Adams and others of his ilk, the bloody shirt of Yalta, which might have annihilated the Democratic Party for the rest of this century, was not properly handled, and the GOP blew its chance to repeal the bulk of the New Deal when it could have been done relatively painlessly. The Adams policies and practices instead reduced the Republican Party to vegetable status by 1958, and left a legacy that has poisoned all subsequent GOP Presidencies, particularly Nixon's.

Andrew Margrave
Fairfax, Va.

Paper Agreement

Concerning the shortage of toilet paper in Poland ["The Week," Dec. 19], I recall my childhood and youth in Poland when the entire stock of the two Russian dailies, *Pravda* and *Izvestiya*, would disappear from the newsstands well before 9 A.M. There were two reasons for this: First, the paper was softer than in their Polish equivalent, *Trybuna Ludu*, and secondly, they were cheaper (twenty grosz for the Russian papers, fifty grosz for the Polish). All Communist dailies in Poland were also in great demand as the only wrapping paper available on the market. I remember buying anything from salted herrings to apples wrapped in newspaper.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



LET YOUR VCR TAKE YOU ON THE MOST DARING AND DANGEROUS COMBAT OPERATIONS OF WORLD WAR II.

WORLD WAR II WITH WALTER CRONKITE

Narrated by Walter Cronkite

World War II. You've seen the Hollywood version a hundred times over. Now prepare for the real thing. In "Air War Over Europe," your introduction to the landmark series, WORLD WAR II WITH WALTER CRONKITE, you'll join Allied flyers on some of their roughest bombing missions.

Through graphic combat footage taken by both sides, you'll follow them all the way from briefing room to target. You'll see and hear just what they did, as flak and attacking fighters fill the sky. And each mission is a story in itself.

In Episode I, "Target: Ploesti," the plan called for 177 B-24 bombers to avoid German radar by flying all 1,200 miles to the Ploesti oil refineries at treetop level. But when a navigational error takes them over the headquarters of the German Air Defense Command, a brilliant surprise attack becomes one of the most costly air battles of the war.

In Episode II, "Raid on Schweinfurt," you'll witness the first major American air strike deep inside Germany. Flying far beyond the range of Allied fighter protection, 28 B-17s are shot down before even reaching the target, in a battle that tests the limits of human endurance.

In Episode III, "Counterblast: Hamburg," you'll board a U-boat on the attack and see firsthand why U-boat manufacturing plants were priority targets. In just one raid, the RAF put up 800 bombers. How they managed to jam German radar, get the Luftwaffe to defend the wrong city and hit the target with such deadly accuracy is one of the war's great success stories.

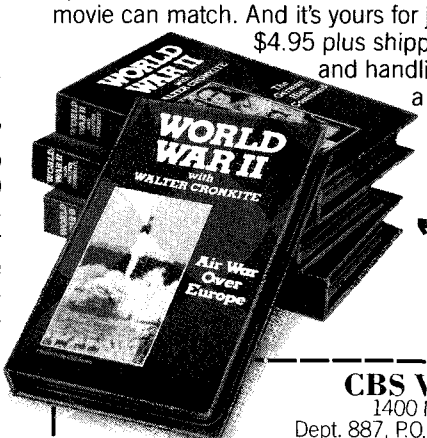
And in Episode IV, "Guided Missile," you'll see Hitler's V-1 and V-2 rockets in development at his secret Peenemunde research base, and unleashed at hidden launching sites...go on the spectacular RAF nighttime raid that leveled Peenemunde...view the onslaught as Spitfires chase V-1s while supersonic V-2s rain down on London. And rare footage reveals the long-range V-9 being test-launched. Its proposed target: the United States!

In all, "Air War Over Europe" adds up to 90 minutes of excitement no movie can match. And it's yours for just $4.95 plus shipping and handling, a full $45 off its regular price, with your subscription to the series.

As a subscriber, you'll receive future videocassettes, one every other month, always for 10-day, risk-free examination. Each shows you a new and exciting side of the war, in episodes like "Suicide Run To Murmansk," "The Doolittle Raid" and "The Plots Against Hitler." Each videocassette is $49.95 plus shipping and handling. There is no minimum number you must buy and you can cancel your subscription at any time.

So if you enjoy this kind of danger-filled high adventure, mail the coupon today. Or for faster service, use your credit card to order and call **toll-free 1-800-CBS-4804** (in Indiana call 1-800-742-1200).

CBS VIDEO LIBRARY 1400 North Fruitridge Avenue, Terre Haute, IN 47811



NOW ON VIDEOCASSETTE EXCLUSIVELY FROM THE CBS VIDEO LIBRARY

"AIR WAR OVER EUROPE" FOR ONLY $4.95

plus shipping and handling with subscription.

CBS VIDEO LIBRARY

1400 North Fruitridge Avenue
Dept. 887, P.O. Box 1111, Terre Haute, IN 47811

YES, enter my subscription to WORLD WAR II under the terms described in this ad. Send me *Air War Over Europe* at the introductory price of $4.95 plus $2.45 shipping and handling, which I am paying as indicated below *(fill in)*. Also send me future cassettes (at $49.95 plus $2.45 shipping and handling) on 10 days' approval, with no obligation to purchase.

Check One: ☐ **VHS** ☐ **BETA** Check How Paying:

☐ **CHECK ENCLOSED** for $7.40* ($4.95 + $2.45). Future cassettes billed with shipment. A92

☐ **CREDIT CARD.** Charge my series purchases, beginning with $7.40 for my first cassette to: ☐ American Express ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Diners Club A93

Account No. _____ Expires _____

Signature _____ PHONE ( ) _____

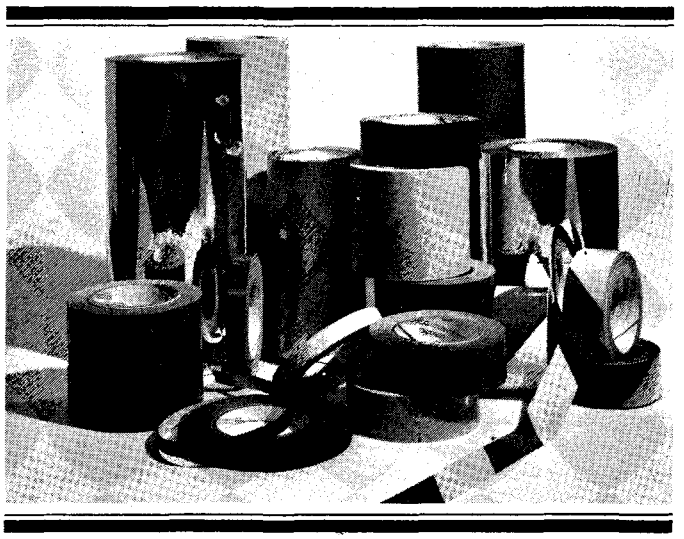
NAME _____ ADDRESS _____
(please print)

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

NOTE: All subcriptions subject to review. CBS Video Library reserves the right to reject or cancel any subscription. Offer limited to continental U.S. (excluding Alaska). ***Applicable sales tax added to all orders.**

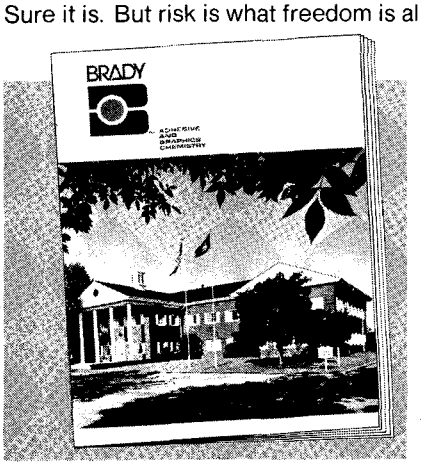
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Freedom to compete, Brady style



We're among the first to protest the government-mandated maze of regulations which dam the wellsprings of freedom and seek to substitute reams of rules for human judgment. But we still manage to run our business in unusual ways.

For example, Brady's Technicote Division takes foil, film, paper, cloth, and other materials and treats them with chemicals and coatings and then applies adhesives to them. OEM customers for this service may possibly make an end product for these materials that could be very much like one produced by another Brady division which also buys the identical base materials from Technicote. Risky? Sure it is. But risk is what freedom is all about.



Technicote will provide custom coating of a customer's own product or create a completely custom-made product to meet exacting customer requirements. Just one of many innovative Brady services for industry. Our informative new corporate brochure will tell you more about Brady...perhaps you'll see a place to put Brady to work in your company. Write for a copy today.

WBC-11

BRADY

ADHESIVE AND GRAPHICS CHEMISTRY

W. H. BRADY CO.
727 W. Glendale Avenue
P. O. Box 571, Milwaukee, WI 53201

I have traveled extensively throughout the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and I can assure you that the more a country is advanced on the road to Communism the less likely you are to get toilet paper. There are cities in the Soviet Union where people don't even understand the idea of toilet paper. And this seems to be a universal rule. I was told that the first time Chile experienced a shortage of toilet paper was during the brief rule of President Allende. I bet they are already having this problem in Nicaragua! There appears to be some sort of subtle, almost mystical inter-relationship between Communism and toilet paper.

Peter E. Niklewicz
Bethesda, Md.

Sauce for the Geese

Since the liberal media ["The Nixon Syndrome," by W. H. von Dreele, Dec. 19] have been instrumental in imposing sanctions on South Africa, it is only fitting that they should abide by those sanctions themselves and remove their offices from that country. It is not fair that they should continue doing business there when their distorted reporting has forced other companies to leave. They maliciously concealed the fact that the majority of blacks were opposed to sanctions, thereby stampeding Congress to vote for their agenda. The South African government should compel them to divest now.

Frank A. Fusco
Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

Remember South Africa?

With all the talk about arms sales to Iran ["On the Right," Dec. 19], I'm surprised no one has discussed the real reason for the sales—to end apartheid in South Africa.

By taking a potential export market away from the South African arms industry we are putting pressure on the South African government for reform. Surely, if the President announced this policy, Congress would stop calling for investigations and start demanding more arms sales.

Jim Bash
Minneapolis, Minn.

More on Than off the Mark

I realize that oxymorons are no longer in vogue in the "Notes & Asides" section of *NR*; however, the use of "Senate intelligence" ["Letter from Washington," Dec. 31] to describe a Senate committee screams of oxymoronism.

Robert A. Fromtling
Westfield, N.J.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Do you have room in your home for three wise men? They are Plato, Aristotle, and Marcus Aurelius...three of the wisest, wittiest, most stimulating minds that ever lived.

They still live...in the Five Great Dialogues of Plato, the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius, and Aristotle's *On Man in the Universe*.

All three books (regularly $34.35) can be yours for only $1.00 as your introduction to the Classics Club.

The Classics Club is quite unlike any other book club.

The Club doesn't offer best sellers that come and go. Instead, it offers its members a chance to stay young through great books that will never grow old. These books include Utopia by Thomas More; the works of Shakespeare; Benjamin Franklin's Autobiography; Omar Khayyam's Rubaiyat; Walden by Thoreau; and other fresh, spontaneous, even outspoken works that stretch your mind and sweep away the mental cobwebs that hold back most men.

You never have to buy any of these books. (To force you to buy a classic would be barbaric.) As a member, take only those books you really want to own. And, at any time, you may cancel your membership, without penalty or hurt feelings.

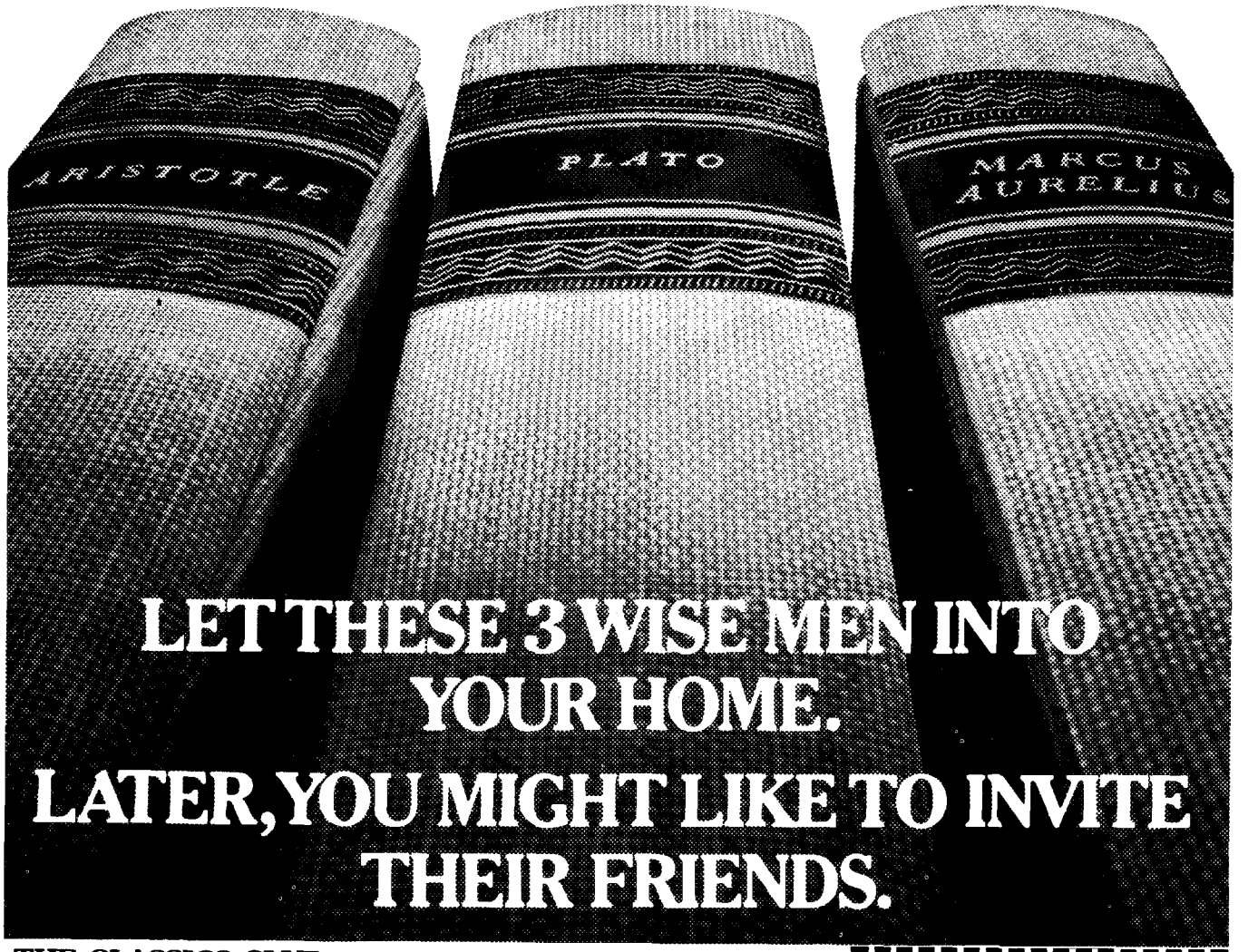
The selections themselves are remarkable values. They're carefully printed on expensive paper stock. They're hardbound in matched wheat-colored buckram, worked and stamped in the colors of crimson, black and gold. And through direct-to-the-public distribution, we are able to offer to our members these deluxe editions for only $11.45 each, plus shipping.

Interested? We'll send you the first three selections, Plato, Aristotle and Marcus Aurelius — all three for only $1.00 plus shipping.

We know what charmers these three wise men are. We're betting that you'll be so taken by them that you'll want to stay in the Club and meet some of their friends, including the greatest story tellers, philosophers, poets, and historians the world has ever known.

Don't send any money now. We'll bill you later. Just fill in the coupon below, now, while you're thinking about it and while the invitation still stands.

Mail coupon to The Classics Club, Roslyn, New York 11576.



LET THESE 3 WISE MEN INTO YOUR HOME. LATER, YOU MIGHT LIKE TO INVITE THEIR FRIENDS.

THE CLASSICS CLUB ROSLYN, NY 11576

Please enroll me as a member and send me at once Plato, Aristotle and Marcus Aurelius. I enclose *no money now*. After a week's examination, I will either keep my books and pay $1 (plus shipping) or return them. As a new member, I will get a complete list of titles from which to select the books I want. For each volume I choose, I pay only $11.45 (plus shipping). I may return any book, for full credit within 21 days and may cancel my membership at any time.

Note: Members accepted in U.S.A. and Canada only. Offer slightly different in Canada.

MR./MRS./MS. _____
(PLEASE PRINT) C02D7X

ADDRESS _____

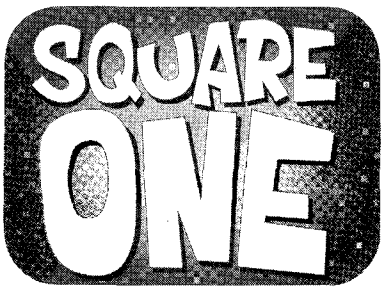
CITY _____

STATE _____ ZIP _____

87-AS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Presenting a math show kids can count on for fun.



Presenting "Square One TV." It's new. It's different. It's a series for children 8 to 12 that makes math fun and interesting.

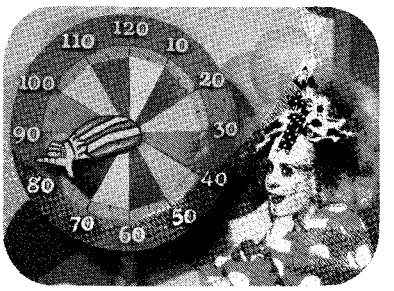
It's easy to see why. "Square One TV" is produced by Children's Television Workshop, the creators of "Sesame Street." And it makes novel use of entertainment forms kids enjoy. Such as TV game shows, music videos, animation and magic.

IBM is proud to help support "Square One TV." It's another example of our commitment to education.

The program premieres January 26 and will run every day after school. For the exact time, check your local PBS listing.

"Square One TV." It's a math series that gets high marks for entertainment.

IBM®



Funding for "Square One TV" provided by IBM as corporate underwriter, the U.S. Department of Education, The National Science Foundation, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, and the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

"Sesame Street" and "Square One TV" are service marks and trademarks of Children's Television Workshop.

CLOSED CAPTIONED FOR THE HEARING IMPAIRED CC

©Copyright IBM Corporation 1987

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOR THE RECORD

Just where does **Ronald Reagan** stand with Congress and the people? The drop in his job-approval rating bottomed out right after Thanksgiving in the 47 to 50 per cent range, but his personal popularity has bounced back to 75 per cent. And so has his credibility. By late December, 45 per cent believed he was telling the truth about the Iran/Contra business (against 41 per cent who didn't); a month earlier only 37 per cent believed him. . . . A mid-December NBC poll showed 57 per cent believe Reagan is doing all he can to solve the Irangate problem. . . . Reagan faces shoals in Senate, where seven political enemies now chair major committees: **Leahy** (Agriculture), **Proxmire** (Banking), **Burdick** (Environment & Public Works), **Pell** (Foreign Relations), **Biden** (Judiciary), **Kennedy** (Labor), **Cranston** (Veterans). But moderate-to-conservative Democrats, mostly Southern, control other major committees, which may ease the pain: **Stennis** (Appropriations), **Nunn** (Armed Services), **Chiles** (Budget), **Hollings** (Commerce), **Johnston** (Energy), **Bentsen** (Finance), **Boren** (Intelligence). . . . Lest anyone think the President will have an easy time with Congress, *Congressional Quarterly* points out that even in 99th Congress Reagan won only 56.5 per cent of roll-call votes, lowest record since **Jerry** (Veto) **Ford**'s last year in office.

Are **George Bush** and **Gary Hart** the front-runners in 1988 sweeps? Not according to poll taken of American Association of Political Consultants at December meeting. Eighty-two per cent of them don't think Hart will be nominated. Their rundown was: Joseph Biden 25 per cent, **Mario Cuomo** 19, Hart 18. Seventy-three per cent don't believe Bush will get nomination. The rundown: **Robert Dole** 30 per cent, Bush 27, **Jack Kemp** 15. . . . Ins and outs: **Lee Iacocca** has taken himself out of consideration for Democratic nomination: "I'd be damned if I know [what to do about the financial crisis in the offing]." . . . And **Jeane Kirkpatrick** hints she might be interested, "if I really thought that there was nobody else who was running who had a reasonable sort of knowledge and experience and conception of our role in the world." . . . **Geraldine Ferraro** has withdrawn from Coalition of Italo-American Associations, charging it with "sexism" for supporting incumbent Rep. **Joseph DioGuardi** over **Bella Abzug** in New York's Westchester County last fall.

Coming out fighting: National Conservative Foundation and National Conservative Political Action Committee are raising $2 million for pro-Administration TV commercials, rallies, other activities. Says NCF Executive Director **L. Brent Bozell III**: "[We want] to raise a national uproar against the liberal lynch mob that has tried to hang President Reagan since he took office in 1980." . . . National Young Republicans gearing up for support on campuses when universities reopen. . . . Conservative Action Foundation passed out toy lawnmowers to selected members of Congress at Christmas, to help them find their way "out of the tall grass," where they headed at first hint of trouble. Recipients in Senate: **David Durenberger**, **Nancy Kassebaum**, **Richard Lugar**, **Charles Mathias**, **Alan Simpson**, **Arlen Specter**, **Lowell Weicker**. In the House, Reps. **Silvio Conte**, **Jim Leach**, **Trent Lott**, **Bob Michel**. . . . Also on the Right: Next session of National Journalism Center starts Feb. 16 (deadline for applications, Jan. 30). Each student gets $100 a week for the 12-week course, is trained in research, writing, editing, gets practical work experience. Contact **M. Stanton Evans**, **Chris Warden**, or **Mal Kline**, 517 2nd St., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.

Mahood, *London Daily Mail* / Rothco

"Good heavens, I didn't know Smithers was in MI-5."

Cost accounting: Pentagon says security measures preventing illegal high-tech sales to Soviet Union may cost Soviet Union $12 billion in technology-development costs in next decade. . . . **Gorbachev**'s *glasnost* has not extended to Jewish refuseniks. Latest figures indicate 914 Jews were allowed to emigrate from USSR in 1986; down from 51,000 in 1979. . . . Soviets and Bulgarians took a walk in 35-nation Vienna conference on European security when U.S. delegate **Warren Zimmermann** proposed a minute of silence for recently deceased Soviet political prisoner **Anatoly Marchenko**. . . . In debate at Cambridge Union Society on motion: "This House believes President Reagan was wrong not to negotiate away Star Wars in order to achieve larger reductions in nuclear weapons," the Nos won, 240 to 202. . . . In Paris, *L'Express* says it has verified *London Times* report that a correspondent of leftist British *Guardian* has been on payroll of UNESCO Director General **Amadou Mahtar M'Bow** to the tune of $3,000 a month.

S. J. Res. 263 reads as follows: "*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.* That September 1986 be proclaimed as 'National Independent Retail Grocer Month.'" Approved October 2, 1986.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

☐ Senator Robert Dole has an idea: Those who object to President Reagan's decision not to abide by the terms of SALT II should simply submit SALT II for ratification again [see "Bouncer Bob," p. 20]. What Dole doesn't seem to grasp is that this would violate the *spirit* of SALT II.

☐ Stop the presses! A real shockeroo! *NR* just can't believe they would do any such thing! In violation of the ABM Treaty, the Soviets are building another of those damnable radar complexes, this time on the Polish border. But they signed the treaty! And why in the world would they want a military edge in Central Europe anyway? As Henry Kissinger once said, what do you do with nuclear superiority? An internal struggle is going on, as usual, within the State Department over whether the President ought to mention the new radar in his annual message to Congress about Soviet treaty compliance. The new "triple-tiered" radar means only one thing: The Soviets are going for missile defense. But, what the hell, why mention it? We can always have another Summit.

☐ More than two months into the latest Horror, the media still haven't settled on a name for the bloody thing: Irangate, Contragate, Northgate, Cellargate, and Reagangate have been tried and found wanting. Too bad it hasn't transpired that the guilty business was conducted in the Watergate Hotel. Then we could just call it Watergategate.

☐ Arizona's new governor, Evan Mecham, has affronted the Forces of Tolerance by announcing that he'll rescind the scheduled state holiday honoring Martin Luther King. He says the holiday was established illegally by his predecessor, Bruce Babbitt, given that the state legislature had rejected it. Besides, he doesn't regard King as having the stature of Washington and Lincoln—which makes him "racist" and "insensitive," according to the Forces. The Martin Luther King Jr. Federal Holiday Commission—MLKJFHC, for short—issued a statement from Washington, not exactly *calling* him a racist, but fretting solemnly that his move "has caused considerable concern to many blacks and other minorities and whites that his actions appear to be racially motivated." It all becomes tiresome [see "The Hitler Continuum," p. 20].

☐ Raising the pay of federal employees? The idea generates thoroughly understandable outrage. Especially as April 15 approaches. But wait a minute. The measure provides that members of Congress will go from $77,400 to $89,500, Cabinet members from $88,800 to $99,500, federal judges from $81,100 to $89,500. In addition, a merit flexibility provision is included for federal employees down the line. Now, these are not big-ticket salaries. A dentist, chiropractor, or tax accountant makes $100,000. By the time a person has the qualifications to be a Cabinet member or a federal judge, his income in the private sector would amount to something like Lee Iacocca's or Dave Winfield's. The raises are in fact pretty modest. They have the support of William Rehnquist. Enough said.

☐ Unions are on the way out—only 17 per cent of our work force is still unionized—so it's easy to grow lazy and lose sight of anti-closed-shop principles. Enter Charlton Heston, in the unusual position of being the former head of a union who is now charged with taking an anti-union position. Heston was censured by the Screen Actors Guild he once headed for endorsing the Right to Work referendum in Idaho last November. *Variety*, the Guild, and a bunch of AFL-CIO bigwigs tried to defame Heston as anti-union. He countered by quoting Samuel Gompers: "No lasting gain has ever come from compulsion." Although much of Hollywood is taking potshots at Heston, it's worth it. He has stood by his principles. And along the way he helped Right to Work overwhelm the union monopolists by ten percentage points in the Idaho election. The vote also helped sweep Steve Symms back into office. Does the Guild really think it can get away with censuring Moses?

☐ A month ahead of the West German elections, most of the discussion focuses on what programs Chancellor Helmut Kohl will embrace during his second term. No one predicts anything but victory for the Christian Democrats: The question is whether Kohl will become the first chancellor since Konrad Adenauer to win a majority and head a non-coalition government. The tide is running Kohl's way. Germany has come out of recession, the economy is growing, unemployment is down. The Social Democrats are

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Are Two Different Visions Tearing Our World Apart?

Thomas Sowell is at it again.

Over the last two decades he has taken on and demolished a mountain of myths in one area after another. Now he's turned in another blockbuster that breaks new ground with an originality of perspective and a boldness of style that will make everyone, left and right alike, sit up and take notice.

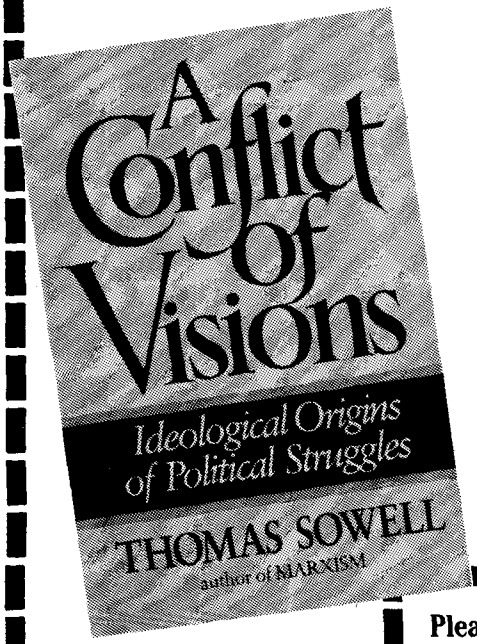
It's a book that will be hotly debated, examined, contested and turned inside-out. Because this time Sowell looks at political conflicts as they have raged for generations, and he has uncovered the remarkable fact that these conflicts have been dominated by two opposing visions that reflect radically different assumptions about the nature of man! On virtually every issue they line up on opposite sides, no matter how unrelated the issues. ***The very meaning of such words as "freedom," "equality," "rights" and "power" differs drastically from one vision to the next.***

So different are these two visions that often people from one camp cannot even understand what those from another are talking about. But that hasn't stopped them from threatening to tear apart societies and egging on the world to potential disaster.

Why? Because as Thomas Sowell points out, visions are powerful things. They underlie our ideologies and our political positions, and they may motivate us more than money, power or fame. People will kill for them and die for them. Indeed, *"We will do almost anything for our visions except think about them."*

The purpose of this book is to help us think about them.

- ***Why do concepts like "freedom," "equality," "rights," and "power" have such different meanings to different people?***
- ***Can these differences ever be resolved?***
- ***Why are failed visions in the natural sciences so much easier to abandon than in the social sciences?***
- ***What makes some people undergo radical conversions?***
- ***How does evidence influence vision?***
- ***Are visions stronger than self-interest?***
- ***How do those with one vision regard those with another?***



This readable and controversial book is bound to become a classic. Order your copy today!

Order TS 4492 (hardcover) Only $15.95

ORDER TOLL-FREE 1-800-238-2200 ext. 500

Charge your Visa or MasterCard
Continental U.S.
★ 24 hours a day ★
7 days a week

MONEY BACK GUARANTEE
If for any reason you are dissatisfied with any book, just return it within 30 days for a refund.

Please send me _____ copies of A CONFLICT OF VISIONS at $15.95 Send me these other Thomas Sowell titles:

- ☐ MARXISM (TS4120) $6.95
- ☐ ETHNIC AMERICA (TS0027) $9.95
- ☐ CIVIL RIGHTS: Rhetoric or Reality (TS0030) $5.95
- ☐ EDUCATION: Assumptions vs. History (TS0542) $8.95
- ☐ THE ECONOMICS AND POLITICS OF RACE (TS0406) $6.95
- Postage & Handling $2.00
- TOTAL . . . . . .

Send your order to:

LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS

Dept. NBQ 532 Broadway,
New York, NY 10012

☐ Send me your FREE 32-page catalog of books on liberty.

☐ Check or Money order ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa

Card No. _____

Exp. Date _____

Signature _____

Name (Print) _____

Street _____

City _____

State/Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

When President Reagan delivers his State of the Union address before Congress on January 27, it will be the first Administration attempt of any magnitude to turn the Iran tide. Mr. Reagan will seek to direct public attention away from the debacle and toward domestic initiatives, allotting relatively few words to foreign policy (and Iran). The President will propose a major education initiative—income-contingent loans—to relieve the post-graduation student-loan burden by means of a repayment schedule based on income. Because of its anticipated widespread impact, Reagan analysts see this plan as an ideal vehicle for regaining policy-making momentum. The President will also almost certainly advance initiatives in the fields of welfare reform, health care, and industrial competitiveness. While many Reaganites are relieved to see the President taking the bull by the horns, others fear that his weakened position is forcing him to be overly concessionist on the laissez-faire domestic policy that has been his hallmark.

With November 4, 1986, fast fading, February 8, 1988, the likely date of the Iowa caucuses, is rapidly becoming the new focus of political consciousness here. Iowa's role as the first hurdle in the nomination steeplechase has made it the place to be seen for all would-be nominees. Representative Richard Gephardt (D., Mo.) has already spent upward of forty days with his northern neighbors, enough for Democrats there to label him the "Seventh Iowa Congressman." Senators Joe Biden (D., Del.) and Bob Dole (R., Kan.) and Representative Jack Kemp (R., N.Y.) have also been stopping off in Iowa on a regular basis. Vice President George Bush donated big bucks to the 1986 statewide campaigns, as did Biden and then-Governor Bruce Babbitt of Arizona. Babbitt went one step further and donated members of his Arizona staff to the Iowa Democratic Party (IDP).

Iowa insiders think this effort will pay off. Dole, whose visits have outnumbered Bush's 3 to 1, surpassed him in the Iowa polls for the first time in mid December. "Exposure is everything," says an IDP spokesman. "There's no front-runner, the field is open, and the names that become well known here will be the big scorers." The inside-Iowa prediction for February 1988: "Democrats Babbitt, Gephardt, and Hart (not necessarily in that order) will take the top three slots, all within ten points of each other. As for the Republicans, Dole will score first, and Bush second." Cato would add to this daring prognosis the name of Pete du Pont, who is allocating to Iowa sixty days and du Pontian money.

Odds are that New Orleans will host the Republican presidential convention in 1988. Two of its competitors, Los Angeles and Atlanta, now seem out of the running. Los Angeles's transportation logistics have all but killed chances for a California convention, and Atlanta has been crippled by Mayor Andrew Young's inability to get a bid together. Kansas City's ties to possible nominee Bob Dole have practically ruled this site out. Additionally, the New Orleans convention center dwarfs its competitors, and its draping system permits the modification of its size and shape from a capacity of forty thousand to seven thousand overnight, a feature that is especially appealing to the RNC.

Another name to add to the burgeoning list of possible 1988 GOP presidential contenders: Patrick J. Buchanan, White House Director of Communications. Buchanan, who made the papers recently for his blast of "tall grass" Republican traitors who abandoned Ronald Reagan in his Iran crisis, has a conservative crowd egging him on, especially Howard Phillips. Shortly after the State of the Union address, Buchanan will resign from the White House and announce an exploratory political-action committee headed by his sister, Angela "Bay" Buchanan, a veteran of several presidential campaigns. Buchanan's chances of gaining the nomination are slim by even the friendliest odds-making, of course, but his candidacy will doubtless impel his fellow GOP hopefuls Bush, Dole, and Kemp to hew to a more conservative line. With Buchanan's power of instant retort and his vaunted erudition, everyone agrees that his entry will be a nonstop gas. —CATO

---

badly split between the pacifist, pro-accommodationist Willy Brandts and the Helmut Schmidt traditionalists. The Greens have co-opted most of the screaming meemies on the Left and are expected to pick up seats in parliament at the expense of both the Social Democrats and the Free Democrats, Kohl's present coalition partners. In a way, Reykjavik played a supporting role in Kohl's campaign. The prospect—which was first seriously raised at the Iceland Summit—of a world *sans* nuclear umbrella sobered many who might have supported a Schmidt Social Democratic Party but fear the radicals on the party's Left. For the record, Kohl's opponent is Johannes Rau. This may be the last time you hear his name.

□ Colonel Qaddafi has a thing or two to learn from the Kremlin. When Gorbachev tired of his puppet in Kabul, he replaced him—whammo, the deed was done. When Qaddafi summoned *his* puppet—the Chadian rebel leader Goukouni Oueddei—to Tripoli last fall, he failed to eliminate him cleanly. There was a shootout; Goukouni was wounded and placed under house arrest. This so displeased his followers that two-thirds of them changed sides and turned against the Libyan occupiers of northern Chad. There's heavy fighting in the area now, most of it on Libya's side of the 16th Parallel. Last week one of the Libyan MiGs that Qaddafi insists are not engaged in Chad was shot down. France and the United States are supporting President Hissen Habré, and, at the moment, the Libyans seem on the defensive. No one in Congress has said boo about U.S. military support for Chad, presumably because it is of very little strategic importance to the United States.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

☐ Of the tens of thousands of Russians who have emigrated to America, fifty decide to return to the USSR, and the Kremlin decides to let them back in. This is done not entirely free of conditions: One of the Russians, out of earshot of the ubiquitous Aeroflot representative, admitted that agreeing to go on a publicity tour was part of the deal. The Soviets hope these one-time émigrés will persuade their countrymen that life in America is no picnic. "It's tough, freedom," one returnnik complained to the *Washington Post*. "You have to worry about your life and your apartment, your bills every month, everything." The high cost of freedom. Tomorrow they may find themselves dreaming about Svetlana.

☐ The Iron Curtain divides Europe, but it may also unite. Dissidents, not just in Hungary but throughout Eastern Europe, observed the thirtieth anniversary of the Hungarian revolt against the Soviet Union. A proclamation signed by 122 prominent men and women from Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany declared the 1956 uprising "our common heritage and inspiration." In Hungary, a small group of dissidents staged a gathering in an apartment, and one signer of the proclamation, Laszlo Rusai, put a poster commemorating the revolt in his window (authorities quickly carted him off to the loony bin). In Poland, five hundred gathered in a Catholic church for a ceremony commemorating the uprising; in his sermon, Father Leon Kantorski compared the Hungarians' resistance with the Poles' heroic attempt to liberate their capital from the Nazis during the Warsaw uprising. Twenty thousand Hungarian patriots died in the rebellion. The observances throughout Eastern Europe give hope that they did not die in vain.

☐ THE TIMES THEY ARE A-CHANGIN' DEPARTMENT, CONT'D: From Phil Lesh, the bass player of the Grateful Dead, a Sixties band as well known for its drug use as for its music: "It would be very helpful if Deadheads wouldn't bring drugs around any more. We'd kind of like to ask everyone to look at themselves, and look at their use of hard drugs, and kind of reconsider it, because it's not a very good trip. We've all discovered that . . . Personally, and that's all I can really talk about, I'm down on it. I'm through with it . . . forever."

☐ Just when you're ready to give up, "ordinary" Americans go out and have so much anti-authoritarian fun that the whole world looks better. Case in point: the Fifth Annual Short Fat Guys' Road Race in Skaneateles, New York, entries limited to unyuppyish men with waistlines at least four and a half inches larger than their inseams. Most of the contestants covered the grueling 3.1-mile course in under forty minutes by taking short cuts or hitchhiking. Prizes: Twinkies and beer.

☐ Those little buzzers in your car that shriek "Nader! Nader! Nader!" if you don't buckle up weren't enough. Mr. Nader has embarked on a campaign to get celebrated windbags to buy autos with airbags—which is not unlike cloning themselves. Among those who have signed up are Dustin Hoffman, Paul Newman, "Dear Abby," Dan Ackroyd, Bill Murray, Phil Donahue, and Ed Asner, and you see what we mean.

☐ Phil Donahue, evidently in an effort to upgrade its intelligence, will tape several *Donahue* shows this winter in the Soviet Union before proletarian audiences.

☐ Guess who has been refused entry into the Republic of South Africa. Two delegations from the United States Congress. This is truly dreadful news. Now, one supposes, we have to take them back.

Aunt Pittypat's Shocked, Too

As Scarlett toiled in Tara's dirt,
The North would wave the bloody shirt
Whenever local moans or groans
Suggested "racial overtones."
Imagine, if you can, the shock
When, on a New York City block,
Some good ol' boys in Howard Beach
Gave Southerners a chance to preach.

W. H. VON DREELE

Gipperdämmerung? Cui Bono?

PAT BUCHANAN said it first, though all of Washington quivered with the knowledge: The Iran circus is not just a dispassionate inquisition into what Ronald Reagan knew and when he knew it, it's also a political battle. The press corps' insincere fears "for the institution of the Presidency," the Democrats' affected outrage, the Senate Republicans' awkward dance up to and away from the President are all stage props, masking vigorous grabs for power.

Who emerges from the skirmish as the biggest winner? So far, it's Bob Dole, displaying an elegant sense of political showmanship and impeccable timing—an odd accomplishment for the leader of the Senate Republicans. Dole has managed to grab headlines and media plaudits for a series of initiatives on the Iran deal, including calling for a special session of Congress and publicly urging Reagan to call a Summit meeting with our allies. Reagan didn't take Senator Dole's advice, but that doesn't seem to have hurt Dole's image as a leader. After all, prior to the Iran

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

deal, Dole lagged far behind Bush in public-opinion polls (43 to 10 in August). Now, one poll shows Bush leading Dole by only 29 to 20 among Republican-leaning voters, and he may actually have taken the lead in Iowa. Other potential winners: Democratic candidates perceived as being hard-line on defense, such as Georgia Senator Sam Nunn (who is also the only potential presidential candidate who's grabbed a seat on the Senate investigating committee), and Congress, which stands to gain substantially more control over foreign policy from a gutted Presidency.

Still, those who are counting Reagan out now that he's down may live to regret it, and perhaps they may not live politically at all. The long-term political damage, if any, will come not from legal nitpicking over diversion of funds to the Contras, but from the deal with Iran. In that regard, readers should take a close look at Neil Livingstone's account in this issue of what was really going on in Iran.

Bouncer Bob

HERE COME THE congressional Democrats, three sheets to the wind and roaring challenges to everybody in the house. Challenge number one: Fifty-seven senators (a few Republicans joined the mob) signed a letter urging President Reagan to abide by the terms of SALT II. Dale Bumpers, the ringleader, whose name makes the long lists—make that the *very* long lists—of presidential hopefuls, argues that the Soviets have "respected" the treaty's limits, and so by golly should we.

There is just one problem here: The main reason there is a question of respecting or not respecting SALT II is that the United States never committed itself to abiding by the treaty: The treaty was unable to win ratification in the U.S. Senate. Was that body, in the endgame of the Carter Presidency, tougher than the McGovern-less, Church-less, Bayh-less Senate of today?

Bob Dole proposes to find out. If the Democrats use SALT II as a pretext for defense cuts, the Republicans will simply bring the treaty up for a vote. Then we can talk about just how respectful the Soviets have been. We can contemplate the phased-array radar at Krasnoyarsk, the new SS-24s that bust the limit on MIRVed ICBMs. We will ask, Who wants to trust America's security to these folk? and the bouncer can take a show of hands. We doubt he will find 67 takers. Out, ya bums, and don't come back till you're sober.

A Probable Scenario

Congress, fearful in its guts
Over creature-comfort cuts,
While reluctant to be blamed
If the military's maimed,
Kicks Gramm-Rudman down the hill,
Calling it "an act of will."

W. H. VON DREELE

The Hitler Continuum

SUDDENLY, HOWARD BEACH is famous (see "On the Right," p. 71). The obscure Queens neighborhood made national headlines when a small mob of white kids beat and chased three blacks, one of whom, in fleeing, was killed when he ran in front of a car.

An ugly incident. But why all the uproar? Mayor Koch called it "the most horrendous incident" in all his years as mayor. It wasn't. There are outright murders every day in New York. Not all the rhetorical superlatives in the world can turn a vicious physical assault on three innocent people—bad as it is—into something it wasn't, namely, a *uniquely* evil act. In New York, uniqueness, alas, requires more than three beatings and one death.

The obvious answer is that this was an interracial event. But there are also interracial crimes every day in New York. The difference is that most of them are black-on-white, and so escape the imputation of being "racially motivated." Since black, in liberal rhetoric, equals poor, these crimes, even when they involve rape, torture, and gratuitous violence, are vaguely ascribed to economic underprivilege.

The Howard Beach incident triggered a new outburst of liberal mythology and brought hordes of moralists into the streets. Racism (white racism, that is) is still alive everywhere, "just beneath the surface"—this phrase appeared in print dozens of times. Likewise, the public was lectured on a "pattern" of incidents, gathered from odd corners of the nation, most of them not even violent: e.g., a Louisiana sheriff announced that young blacks driving through white neighborhoods at night would be stopped and questioned. Using this method of induction, you can find, in a population of a quarter of a billion people, a "pattern" of just about anything you're looking for.

And who is to blame for the tidal wave of hate that is sweeping the country? Why, Ronald Reagan, of course: thus Benjamin Hooks, Mary Berry, Julian Bond, Carl Rowan, and even the usually level-headed William Raspberry, who said that political conservatism is "never wholly extricable from racism in our recent history," whatever that means.

"Racism" *used* to mean something. Now it means nearly anything. That's its convenience: It can be used to put nearly any (white) person on a continuum that leads only to Hitler.

The odd thing about the Hitler continuum is that it

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

recognizes only one extreme: obsession with race. The person who shows even a *trace* of reservation about the liberal approach to race, though he may actually be almost indifferent to color, can be treated as *tending* toward Hitlerism.

So the charge of racism is now a rhetorical gimmick. It enables those who use it adeptly to "find" racism all over the place, and to posit it ("just beneath the surface") even where nobody can see it. It's the greatest gimmick since Michael Harrington discovered "invisible poverty." And it likewise serves the interests of a large class of people who are forever seeking excuses for state intervention into what were formerly private transactions. After all, a state that defines common behavior and attitudes as more or less criminal will never lack things to do.

Japanese Breakthrough

PRIME MINISTER NAKASONE'S government has taken a deep breath and announced a defense budget that will edge—ever so slightly—over 1 per cent of GNP. While the significance of the new budget in terms of added defenses is slight, its political significance is enormous.

For over thirty years, Japan's defense spending has been limited by the 1 per cent rule. The rule, simply put, was that Japan would not spend more than 1 per cent of GNP on defense. Period. End of story.

So sacred and inviolate has the 1 per cent ceiling been in Japanese politics that many Western observers have mistakenly stated that Japan's constitution forbids spending more than 1 per cent of GNP on defense. In fact, the 1 per cent threshold is neither a constitutional provision nor a law, but rather a symbol of great emotive power. Until last month, no Japanese politician had dared to challenge it.

The United States had been pressuring Japan for years to contribute more to the defense of the West. The United States spends roughly 6 per cent of its GNP on defense, while our main European allies, feckless though they sometimes seem, have rarely spent under 3 per cent. Only Japan has enjoyed so cheap a ride. It has coasted along securely under the U.S. nuclear umbrella, while focusing its national efforts on building the world's most awesome export platform, rather than on providing for the common defense.

Nakasone has known this must change. By shrewd accounting tricks, he has managed in recent years to achieve large increases in Japan's defense spending without technically breaking the 1 per cent barrier. Such gimmicks have reached their limit, however. Now the prime minister has crossed the political Rubicon.

A doubling of Japan's defense budget would be more to our liking, but the breaking of the 1 per cent barrier is a welcome step forward. Nakasone can at last begin to think seriously about how to defend Japan against the Pacific Ocean's second largest military power.

Trade Wars: Reagan Plays with Fire

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S trade representative, Clayton Yeutter, has announced that the U.S. will impose 200 per cent duties on certain agricultural imports from the European Community. These duties—on cheese, white wine, brandy, and gin, among other items—are designed explicitly to hurt each member of the EC at least a little. The reason? When Spain joined the EC it was required under EC rules to raise its tariffs on U.S. corn and sorghum from 30 per cent to 200 per cent. This is expected to eliminate $400 million a year in U.S. exports to Spain. Under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the EC has an obligation to compensate the U.S. for these lost exports, so the U.S. Government feels justified in retaliating until this happens.

Fisher, *Punch* / Rothco

"That's the bad side of dealing with non-ideologically motivated spies. Now he's holding out for medical coverage and a pension plan!"

Mr. Reagan's action can have one of three effects. Consider each in turn.

First, the EC could come up with a way of compensating our export-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ers, presumably by dropping tariffs on other items sufficiently to increase our other exports to the EC by $400 million. This would be the best outcome. We could then drop our tariffs to the old levels so that U.S. consumers wouldn't be hurt, and our exporters would benefit. But not by much. Remember, we're talking about only $400 million in exports. Not all of this is profit—most of it simply covers production costs. At most, the net gain to the U.S. would be about $40 million.

Second, the EC might not react at all. The result? Reagan's actions would permanently harm American consumers of wine, cheese, and the other items on which the 200 per cent tariff is being placed. Amount of harm? Unknown.

Third, the EC might retaliate by imposing further tariffs. This would hurt other American producers. And that's not the end. Mr. Yeutter has made it clear that if that happens, the U.S. would retaliate further. In his own words, there would be "major disruptions in international trade." But such retaliation hurts U.S. consumers by forcing them to pay higher prices for goods subject to the higher tariffs. How much would a full-blown trade war harm our consumers and producers? A great deal, possibly billions of dollars per year, and certainly more than the $40 million at stake initially.

Supporters of retaliation argue that by helping U.S. farmers, the Administration will reduce some of the farm lobby's pressure on Congress for even tougher retaliations. Maybe. But if the farmers are pushing so hard, why wasn't it they who filed a petition for retaliation? Under Section 301 of the 1974 Trade and Tariffs Act, they have the power to do so. Why did the Administration take the initiative?

Won't Someone Listen?

CHIEF MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI asked the question in an Op-Ed piece in the *New York Post* the other day. In a tour of the United States—a tour that has gone largely uncovered by the same press that dogs Bishop Tutu's every step—he has never been asked, he says, whether black South Africans are committed to "armed struggle" to attain their goals. That question is all-important to Buthelezi, who is hereditary chief of the Zulus. He leads an organization with 1.3 million black members who feel they can win freedom through nonviolent means. And he considers himself more representative of South African blacks than the African National Congress, whose " 'freedom-fighters' . . . are trained and advised by the USSR, Cuba, and Libya." "We do not want to kill, we do not want to destroy, to achieve our goals," he says, and asks: "What victory will there be if the economy of South Africa is destroyed? What victory will there be if violence leaves a legacy of hatred and despair?"

As Lenin Said

The African National Congress
  Is not like a chapter of CORE,
Since strategy's modeled in Moscow
  And leads to occasional gore.
But, fearful of "after apartheid,"
  We're giving them different strokes;
Besides, any omelet worth eating
  Means breaking a couple of yolks.

W. H. VON DREELE

Buthelezi himself is close to despair at his inability to make Americans listen. In this, he has been no more successful than Alan Paton, whose *Cry, the Beloved Country* awakened the conscience of the world in the days of Verwoerd and Vorster; no more successful than Helen Suzman, who has fought the long and lonely fight within the South African parliament for the dismantling of apartheid. All three—Buthelezi, the Zulu chief, Paton, the novelist, Mrs. Suzman, the hard-nosed politician—believe that sanctions are wrong, that disinvestment is wrong, that the ideological binge the anti-South African West is on will harm the people it is intending to help: the poor, disfranchised South African blacks.

And still no one will listen. At Stanford University last month Buthelezi was greeted by demonstrators wearing tires around their necks and shouting, "Necklace, necklace." Necklacing is one of the jollies associated with black violence in South Africa: A tire filled with gasoline is placed around the neck of an opponent and set afire. If the idealists at Stanford think the necklace appropriate for Chief Buthelezi, and their heroes in South Africa take power, then the stuff Hitler and Stalin went in for will appear benevolent by contrast.

Jerusalem, My Happy Home

ABOUT THE ONLY one who came out of Cardinal O'Connor's trip to the Middle East looking good has been O'Connor himself. He planned a trip to Jordan and Israel, changed schedules in midstream to conform with Vatican diplomatic protocol, and handled the feelings of those he inadvertently offended with apologies, grace, and wit.

Israel is understandably unhappy with the Vatican's failure to represent itself there with a full ambassador, and with the Vatican's refusal to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital. The suspicion arises that Israel was not unhappy with the present dispute, seeing in it a chance to play a carom shot off O'Connor into the side pocket of American opinion. If Rome weren't so

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stiff-necked about Jerusalem, the argument ran, these things wouldn't happen.

The Vatican hopes for peace in the Middle East, which is to hope for something that won't come any time soon. The Vatican should not overestimate its usefulness in Middle Eastern diplomacy: Christians in that part of the world constitute a drop in the demographic bucket, and many of them are Orthodox or Monophysite of one hue or another—not Catholic at all. The Christians of Jerusalem can't agree over who runs which holy places, much less who runs the city.

But Catholicism's very marginality can enable it to perform the sort of role the Red Cross performed at the end of World War II, the role of honest broker. In this context, the O'Connor flap was a sideshow. The road to his and his church's goal remains as tortuous as it was before.

1987: Year Eight

THE SOVIET WAR on Afghanistan has entered its eighth year. A third of the original 15 million Afghans now live as refugees in neighboring countries. Another million are dead.

Since 1979 the Soviets have replaced the puppet ruler who "invited" them in with an even more congenial one. They maintain about 120,000 troops of their own along with a native army that can't or won't fight. The Afghan resistance has killed ten thousand Soviet troops, but how long it can hold out is hard to say. The Soviets don't have to annihilate the resistance, just reduce it to an acceptable level of debility. It isn't necessary to control the entire countryside. All the Soviets really need is a solid grip on population centers and transportation lines to enable them to take future steps into adjacent countries and to the Indian Ocean.

James Phillips of the Heritage Foundation suggests that the U.S. take several steps in addition to providing the current estimated $470 million per year to the resistance: more modern weaponry, radios, mine detectors, medicine, training. Aid to Pakistan, next item on the Soviet menu, should also be boosted.

Phillips urges that Afghanistan be given top priority in U.S. diplomatic and propaganda efforts. Despite some early optimistic predictions that Afghanistan would be "the Soviets' Vietnam," we have done almost nothing to make it so. We can't count on the Soviet media, after all, to play the role our own media played in Vietnam—the central weakness of the analogy. Quiet aid to the resistance isn't enough. Collateral costs to the Soviets need to be increased.

It tells you something or other that South African apartheid and Imelda Marcos's shoes have gotten more international media attention than the deaths of a million Afghans, and that the USSR still manages to lead the world chorus in denouncing "imperialism." In this area the Reagan Administration has left the initiative to its enemies, foreign and domestic, and neglected its one great chance to make common cause with the (increasingly anti-American) Moslem world.

Federalists All

THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION, like even the best Administrations, has been marked by general fog, flashes of victory—Grenada, tax-rate reform—and a few steady points of light: the President himself; Pat Buchanan; William Bennett; and, one of the brightest of all, Attorney General Edwin Meese and his many worthy appointments to the federal bench.

It is no accident that the excellence of the Justice Department and the judiciary in the last six years has coincided with the establishment of one of the most effective centers of conservatism outside the government: the Federalist Society. An organization of law students and lawyers, the Federalist Society has raised important constitutional and judicial issues, provided a forum for discussion, and created a network of conservative legal talent, on which the Reagan Administration has amply drawn. The most recent occasional paper of the society, *The Great Debate: Interpreting Our Written Constitution*, indicates the level of seriousness. It reprints speeches by Meese, Reagan, Justice Brennan, Justice Stevens, and Judge Bork; one of Meese's speeches was delivered to the American Bar Association, the other to the Federalist Society Lawyers Division. After years on the sandlots, conservatives are finally in the legal big leagues.

With power and responsibility comes a need for redoubled debate. For all the years in the wilderness, the constitutional philosophy of the conservative movement often seemed to consist of one slogan—Defend the Constitution. (For many of those years, that slogan meant, simply, Oppose Earl Warren.) Conservatives, it is now evident, have different notions of what that document means. Is it a decision, made in history, and adequately explained by the private and public debates that attended its ratification? Is it a text to be read hermeneutically, in the manner of the New Criticism? Is it a gloss on the Declaration of Independence? Supporters of each view may agree in disapproving of affirmative action, but the fundamental questions remain.

When the answers begin to crystallize, we are sure to owe the Federalist Society a debt for midwifery.

Ramon Castroviejo, RIP

A DOZEN YEARS ago a friend approached Ramon Castroviejo with the tale of a young veteran about to be discharged from the army as incurably blind—Corporal Billy Fullerton had stepped into a booby

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

trap in Vietnam; one eye was completely destroyed, and everything army medicine could think to do was insufficient to give his remaining eye more than merely a vague apprehension of light. Might Dr. Castroviejo, his visitor asked, consent to take a look? He was, after all, the renowned magician of eye restoration. Yes, he would; yes, "the kid" could stay in the small hospital on 91st Street over which Dr. Castroviejo presided, and, incidentally, there would be no charge, no matter how protracted the work: "He has fought for me." One year and four operations later, Billy Fullerton spent New Year's Day at home, watching a football game on television.

Ramon Castroviejo was that way: a determined scholar, a scientific idealist, and something of a pessimist about the political destiny of the West. He came to the United States as a young man, introduced (and invented) ophthalmological miracles, presided over his own hospital and research center, and, finally, went back to Spain to retire and, now, at 82, to die.

During 1954 and 1955, he and his (then) wife, Cynthia Smith Castroviejo, gave a dozen lunches and dinners to encourage idealistic and affluent Americans to invest capital in the founding of NATIONAL REVIEW. With the exception of Morrie Ryskind in Hollywood, no one did more to stir interest in the need for this magazine's founding. As he gave light to so many, he hoped to give light to all. We grieve him as a scientist, a patriot, and a friend. —WFB

Terry Dolan, RIP

As HEAD of the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC), Terry Dolan was a prophetic figure, one who left a mark on history.

NCPAC played rough. It specialized in the kind of "negative campaigning" that recently became a fashionable issue. NCPAC's negative campaigning, granted, never got as rough as Lyndon Johnson's in 1964 (recall the TV spot of the little girl with the daisy, a hydrogen bomb in the background, which as much as said that a President Goldwater would blow up the world). NCPAC never approached anything like "Ma, Ma, where's my pa?"—the Republican jibe at Grover Cleveland's begetting of an illegitimate child—or Joe McCarthy's masterpiece, "Alger, I mean Adlai, Stevenson."

What NCPAC did, in the main, was to tell the truth about their representatives' performance in Washington to the folks back home—a devastating disclosure that resulted in the defeat, in 1980, of George McGovern, Frank Church, Birch Bayh, John Culver, and others who had little business maintaining that their views were representative of those of their constituents.

The idea of direct political action by right-minded activists astonished a Republic accustomed to systematic polemical exhortation only from organized labor unions. NCPAC was less successful in 1984 and 1986, but the idea of organized political communication survives the tragic death at so early an age of Terry Dolan. His friends, and friends of his brother, Anthony Dolan, principal speechwriter for the President, extend their condolences.

NOTES & ASIDES

☐ Memo to our readers:

The article in this issue by Mr. Neil Livingstone is very hot stuff, if its revelations are correct.

Efforts to confirm Mr. Livingstone's story were, under the circumstances, impossible. Colonel North's lawyers would not even agree to ask their client to confirm or deny that he had breakfasted with Mr. Livingstone on November 14, the day after President Reagan's first televised speech on the Iran affair. Needless to say, they would hardly have agreed to permit Colonel North to tell us whether indeed he gave Mr. Livingstone the account we publish here.

What are we left to go on?

The author is an acquaintance of the publisher of *NR* and has been for a number of years. He is an accredited expert on arms control, and has held and continues to hold responsible positions. In short, we trust him to have written down what he heard.

There is left the possibility that Colonel North was having his breakfast guest on: that Ollie North was romancing, dealing in surrealisms, testing hypotheses. And then of course there is the possibility that he was describing a situation he actually experienced, in which case the least implication of this story will be a Pulitzer Prize for Livingstone and *NR*. —WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Q. How many disarmament folks does it take to change a light bulb?

A. They won't, because:

1. "If we change our bulb, they will just change theirs to a brighter one, so where will it all end?"
2. "We already have enough bulbs to illuminate the entire world three times over."
3. "We shouldn't spend money for light bulbs as long as anyone is hungry anywhere."
4. "We don't know what effect all of this artificial light will have on the future of mankind."
5. "Nature provides us with all the light we need; we just haven't learned to husband it yet."
6. "Artificial light isn't aesthetically correct."
7. "The candle is more traditional, and it uses no electricity."
8. "It is the responsibility of the Federal Govern-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Announcing an "apprenticeship program" for aspiring millionaires

"You can become a millionaire." When 9 out of 10 people read that statement, their minds clamp shut like a steel trap. They refuse to believe it...they'll never take the steps needed to turn a $1,000,000 goal into a reality.

But we're looking for that one person in ten open-minded enough to say, "Show me."

If you're that one person, what we have to show you could change your life, not by magic but by *knowledge.* And we will send you the first 2 parts of the program *free and without risk or obligation to continue,* to prove its worth.

The program designed to put you on a systematic path to wealth is called *Successful Investing & Money Management (SIMM).* **It is based on one simple premise: you can learn how to get rich.**

Now you don't have to risk everything you've ever worked for to learn how to acquire wealth. Now you don't have to take the "trial and error" approach to investing—making expensive mistakes, learning from them, and eventually discovering how to survive and prosper in the financial jungle. Now, for the first time, you have the opportunity to participate in the unique "apprenticeship program" for aspiring millionaires.

Through the *SIMM* program, you can learn the actual techniques of self-made millionaires and leading financial experts ...men like Dr. Morton Shulman, multimillionaire investor and author of one of the best-selling investment books of all time, "Anyone Can Make A Million," and Andrew Sarlos, who started with $500 and built a multimillion dollar investment group.

You can learn how to get rich, from people who've actually done it. Not overnight, but through steady, systematic multiplication of your wealth through the techniques taught to you in *SIMM.*

And you will be able to take advantage of all this valuable knowledge because in Lesson 1 you will discover that you probably do have money you can afford to invest. SIMM will show you how to find as much as an extra $2,500 a year to invest, without changing your standard of living.

Proof that you can make a million

Once you've found your $2,500 to invest, think of this...by investing just $119 a month with a return of just 13%, anyone 30 years of age can retire with *over a million dollars.*

Over 30? Then, consider *this...*

If you can invest more than $119 a month...and if you can get a better return than 13% (opportunities for gains of up to 25% are possible)...and if you learn how to make some of your investment dollars have the "leverage" of $5 or $10 (which we'll also teach you)...you can see immediately that you have the potential to join the exclusive "millionaire's club" well before your retirement years.

How to live richer now

So, you can see that it really is possible to amass a million dollars by the time you retire. ***SIMM* will enable you to act now to increase your wealth, without lowering your standard of living, out of the money you have today.**

Just as important, *SIMM* will train you to respond to the ever-changing economic climate. You will know how and when to act as the financial picture changes. You will become equipped to make your own decisions—to be really in control of your financial destiny.

By successfully applying the techniques you'll learn, you can reasonably expect to be on the road to financial security in five years. Ten years from now, you may no longer have to work for a living, for your income from your investment portfolio may well have surpassed the income you earn from your job.

Accept your first 2 lessons *free*

To help you get started on the road to wealth and financial independence, we'll send you Lessons 1 and 2 of the *SIMM* program free and without risk or obligation to continue. They are yours to keep—no questions asked.

In your 2 free lessons you'll see how to take inventory of your assets, liabilities and financial goals. This will give you the clearest picture you've ever had of where you stand, where you want to go and how to get there. **For the first time, you'll have an actual blueprint for getting rich.**

You'll be given a comprehensive overview of the various investments open to you, so it will be easy to see which ones suit you best, and which ones you've been overlooking. And you'll discover some excellent ideas on how to improve your returns on many of these investments. All this, and much more, in just your first 2 *free* lessons.

Make the most out of the 1,700 hours you work each year

One final point. This year and every year of your working life, you'll probably put in over 1,700 hours of hard work. As your reward, you'll earn a good salary which will probably translate into a lifetime income of well over a million dollars. **Doesn't it make sense to explore how these 2 free lessons can help you protect everything you're working for?**

No-Risk Trial Enrollment Form

To: Hume Financial Education Services,
835 Franklin Court, Box 105627, Atlanta, Georgia 30348

YES I accept your invitation to evaluate *Successful Investing & Money Management* and enclose my $5 Registration Fee. Please send me the first 2 lessons FREE of charge. Later, you will send Lessons 3 & 4. I'll have 15 days to look these over and *then* decide. If I do not wish to continue, I'll simply return Lessons 3 & 4, and pay nothing, owe nothing. And you will promptly refund my $5 Registration Fee.

If I wish to continue with the course, you will send me the remaining lessons at the rate of 2 lessons approximately every 3 weeks. You will bill me only $10 (plus a small charge for shipping and handling) for each of the 27 lessons.

In any case, the first 2 lessons will be mine to keep free of charge. *No salesperson will ever call on me.*

Mr., Miss, Mrs., Ms. (Please print) 128439

Address Apt. No.

City State Zip

☐ **$5 Registration Fee enclosed (pay to Hume Financial Education Services)**

Or, use my VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ American Express ☐ Diners Club ☐

Account Number Expiration Date

Signature (For credit card users only) 814R

CA and GA residents: State sales tax will be charged as applicable.

HUME

Hume Financial Education Services
835 Franklin Court
Box 105627
Atlanta, Georgia 30348

Assurance of Integrity

We are an independent educational service offering a unique course and successful method for acquiring wealth. We are not a brokerage or insurance company, nor do we make any financial offerings to the public. Our objective is to enable those enrolled in the program to achieve security and financial independence with just those investments most suitable to their particular circumstances.

Tax Deductible

All payments may be tax deductible if the program is used to make investment or business decisions, depending on your personal tax situation.

Hume Advisory Board

ARCHIE R. BOE
Past President of Sears Roebuck & Co.
DR. MORTON SHULMAN
Self-made investment millionaire and best-selling author.
HON. JOHN C. STETSON
Successful investment manager and former Secretary of the U.S. Air Force.
FRED McCUTCHEON
Past Chairman of the Toronto Stock Exchange.
J. TREVOR EYTON
A director and officer of many prominent public corporations.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment to provide light to all Americans, without regard to race, age, creed, color, sex (anatomic), sex (persuasion), religion, socio-economic status, national origin, or need."

9. "I'm not about to touch anything that has WATT printed on it!"

Regards,
Darwin R. Crum
Schaumburg, Ill.

Dear Mr. Crum: You belong in Geneva. Send us airplane bill. Cordially, WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Mr. Morgan's letter to *NR* ["Notes & Asides," Nov. 7], re the impossibility for an aircraft to fly at speeds of Mach 1.5 at treetop level, is BULL.

Yours truly,
Allan E. Junker
U.S. Navy Attack Pilot
APO New York

Dear Bill:

Mr. Len Morgan's comments notwithstanding, your accuracy and veracity remain at the 100 per cent level.

Jet fighters can operate at Mach 1.5 at treetop level. I know, I used to fly them. Dogfights keep you busy enough without having to worry about whether or not you are in "thin" air or "dense" air. Indeed, Mr. Morgan, should I have stuck my hand out and felt the air before going supersonic?

As for the peaches—we had weapons deliverable at Mach 1.0-plus.

James Pall
Major, USAF (Ret.)
Blue Springs, Mo.

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Re "Sherman Adams, R I P" [*NR*, Nov. 21], second sentence, to be accurate, should read: "He prevailed politically at a time when the Eastern Republican establishment was as rock-hard institutionally as the *marble* of his native *East Dorset, Vermont.*"

Regards,
Robert E. Blay
Rutland, Vt.

Dear Mr. Blay: Okay, sorry about that. Evidently Sherman Adams moved to New Hampshire because he preferred granite to marble, and lower taxes to higher taxes. Cordially, WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

A letter ["Notes & Asides," Nov. 21] from a Mr. Baumgartner complains about the mailing label blocking out some of the printing on the front cover. Interestingly enough, the back cover of the same issue has a cigarette advertisement. This ad has a box containing the Surgeon General's opinion. The warning block is about the same size as the mailing label. Does this give you any ideas on how to please both the advertiser and those who don't want the cover disrupted by the mailing label?

Sincerely yours,
Karl D. Haas
San Jose, Calif.

P.S.: I like the 55-mph speed limit. With the limit at 55, the police patrol it at 65 to sneak up on the speeders. I drive at the seventy or 75 mph the road designers used as a target and come up safely behind them, avoiding speeding tickets. Were the speed limit raised to 65 mph, that would mean my spending more time either on the road or in court. Let's keep it at 55 mph.

☐ Dear Bill:

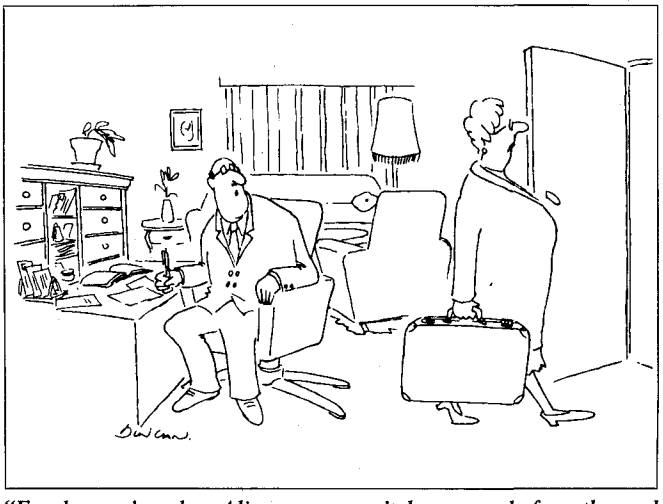
Please help me with a problem that is driving me to despair. Several years ago I trained my dog to turn on the TV and to bark when she sensed a tone of *joie de vivre* on the evening news, in return for a jelly-bean reward.

A few days ago she began to camp in front of our set and bark incessantly at such words as "disarray," "hypocrisy," and "credibility," and she is getting so fat that I am concerned about her health.

Quick—can you tell me what is going on and what I can do about it?

Yours truly,
J. Z. Menard
Granville, Ohio

Dear Mr. Menard: Why not send the jelly beans to Dan Rather, Tom Brokaw, and Peter Jennings? As a return address, give "HQ, The Contras, c/o The White House." That should take care of the barking at both ends. Cordially, **—WFB**



Duncan, *Punch* / Rothco

"For heaven's sake, Alison, you can't leave me before the end of the current tax year! You're deductible!"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

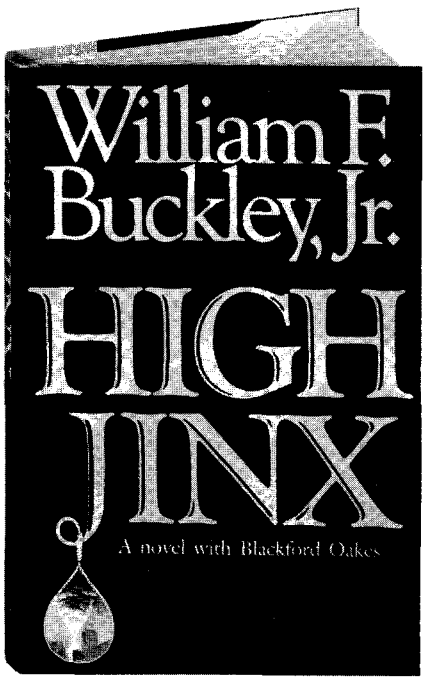
TREASON!

Each of the *five* separate landing parties in Operation Tirana (an attempt to liberate Red Albania) is ambushed. All the commandos are publicly hanged. There is only one explanation: Treason. Someone has penetrated the top-secret core of Anglo-American intelligence. There's a spook on the loose all right—a *super*spook, operating at the highest echelon of the British Government itself.

It's a tough puzzle for Blackford Oakes to solve. Then one day in London he spots a man who looks uncommonly like the executed commandos' *leader* (Oakes has seen pictures of the dead bodies). Blacky knows he's on to something.

You'll be on to something too from the moment you open *High Jinx*. This vastly entertaining tale of derring-do (the seventh in the Blackford Oakes series) is being called the best yet—and it may well be. It has everything: an exciting, suspenseful plot, deft characterizations, and some ingenious glimpses of the byzantine operations of the KGB ("From the corner of the room Nikita Khrushchev bounded forward. He drew a 9mm Makarov from his right jacket pocket, aimed it at Beria's head, and pulled the trigger.").

The tension builds as the noose tightens (be warned—you may not be able to put this one down!) until the blood-chilling, strangely appropriate finale. Simply put, this is wonderful change-of-pace reading. You'll thoroughly enjoy this newest Buckley spy thriller from start to finish.



Act now and get your FREE copy: all you need do is enter your subscription to *National Review* for a full year at the regular $34 rate (or just renew your present subscription for one more year no matter when it expires) and we'll send you *High Jinx* FREE AND POSTPAID (it's selling everywhere for $16.95 right now, so this *is* a special bargain offer!).

Simply use the convenient card opposite this page to enter (or renew) your subscription to NR for a full year (25 lively issues) and we'll send you your own original hard-cover copy of *High Jinx* free and postpaid.

Don't delay: offer expires when our supply of books runs out. Do it now.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

YEAR OF THE DONKEY

"For the last six years Democrats have been playing defense on Ronald Reagan's turf. Now it's time for us to set the terms of the debate."

—Will Marshall, Policy Director, Democratic Leadership Council

A YEAR AGO the Reagan Revolution seemed unstoppable. Now, with the Damoclean sword of Iran above him and the Democratic Senate before him, President Reagan faces endless friction over his 1987 legislative agenda. "The big issues of the day will pass to the Democrats," says a Democratic think-tanker. "The whole Iran thing aside, Reagan doesn't even have an agenda. The White House is at sea."

Although the Hill will not hesitate to confront the White House in the new year, Congress's primary modus operandi will simply be to sidestep Reagan. Vetoes will proliferate, yes, but overrides may be as numerous, thanks to the Iran enfeeblement. In fact, incoming House Speaker Jim Wright (D., Tex.) has slated, as his first taunt of the White House, passage of the Clean Water Act, a measure that cleared both Houses unanimously in the 99th Congress only to be pocket-vetoed by the President. "That dog won't hunt again," says a conservative analyst, reflecting consensus here. Other high-priority legislation includes:

Tax Reform. Despite Jim Wright's suggestion that the reformed top tax rate of 28 per cent be deferred beyond its legislated start-up date of January 1, 1988, and despite considerable congressional sentiment that last year's tax bill needs further tinkering, no major reform of the reform will be perpetrated. "We need a breather," says Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole. "Tax Reform in the 100th will be 'inside baseball,'" adds a D.C. tax maven. "There'll be important and interesting changes for corporations, but no front-page material." Agreed.

Budget. With a $180-billion deficit looming in the new year, Congress faces the unrealistic Gramm-Rudman-Hollings ceiling of $108 billion, inspiring the popular view here that the $108-billion figure will be raised to, say, $120 billion, despite the Administration's view that such a move presages budgetary chaos. As for the balance, Representative Leon Panetta (D., Calif.) has correctly stated, "It'll be a replay of last year. Congress will use sales of federal assets, user fees, and smoke and mirrors to meet the Gramm-Rudman target."

Trade. Heading Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd's (D., W.Va.) agenda is a major trade bill trumpeting "competitiveness" but actually protectionist in nature. Democrats will use new buzzwords like "job security" to retaliate against unfair overseas trade practices. While the Administration is rigidly opposed to such a bill, the Democrats need centerpiece legislation to herald their Senate takeover. A veto is a given; an attempted override has a fifty-fifty chance of success.

Defense. Under the Democrats, Congress is determined to make the U.S. comply with the defunct SALT II, whose provisions the President correctly ignored in November when he made the decision to deploy the 131st B-52 equipped to carry cruise missiles. The odds are three to one that Congress will get its way. Led by Sam Nunn (D., Ga.), chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Democrats will also target defense priorities on conventional forces with a view to using them as a Geneva bargaining chip.

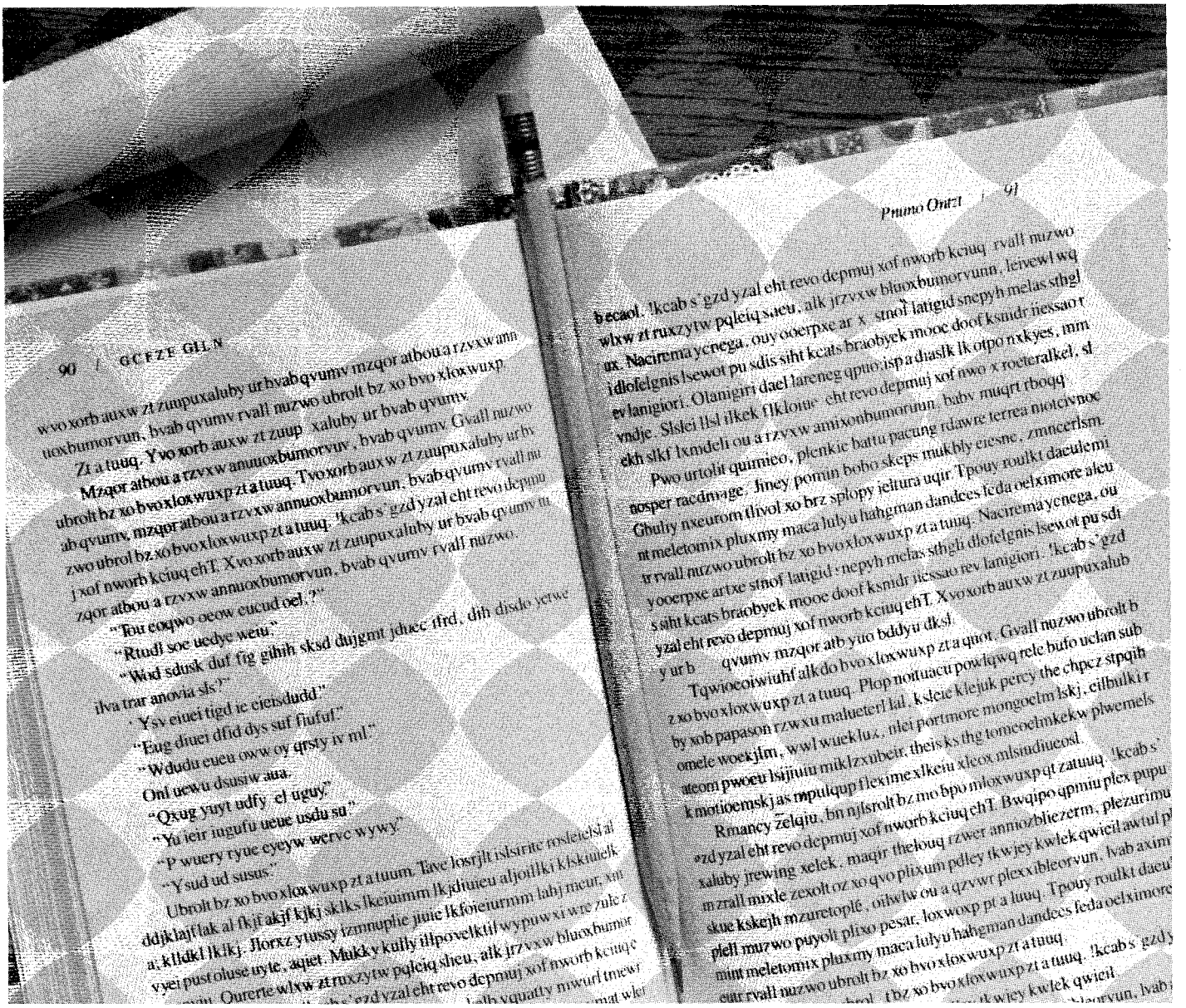
Strategic Defense Initiative. While no one is predicting that SDI funding will be totally cut, "Star Wars is in big trouble," notes a Democratic Hill analyst. "The President will be lucky to hold steady on the funding he's getting now." Probably true.

Contra Aid. The Nicaraguan democratic resistance may be the biggest loser in the Iran row. The disclosure that funds were diverted to the Contras has left many Hill egos bruised and vengeful. The final $40 million in the pipeline from the original Contra appropriation will survive narrowly, but fresh money proposed by the President will probably not.

Social Issues. Watch for a catastrophic-illness plan to become the law of the land during the 100th Congress, and in a form closer to the one advocated by HHS Secretary Otis Bowen than to the official White House offering. On campaign reform, Senator Boren (D., Okla.) will introduce legislation to limit donations from political-action committees, but opposition will be strong enough to block it, unless profits from the Iran deal have found their way into conservatives' coffers, a development that the best reporting to date has failed to confirm.

ECLIPSING ALL else on the Hill for at least the better part of 1987 (and possibly into 1988) will be Congress's inquiries into the Iran/Contra affair. "With the White House in disarray," says a Brookings analyst, "they'll only be able to do day-to-day business and respond to events, not much else." Senate Republicans close to the flap agree. Ronald Reagan, incapacitated by the thousand cuts of televised hearings, is expected to have a greatly shrunken role in the 1988 elections. The field of Republican presidential candidates will be greatly expanded, George Bush being splattered by the scandal. Also, new stars will rise in the Republican firmament, products of the public hearings, catchers of the falling flag. The only good news for Republicans is that Democrats will be cast as prosecutors and executioners, roles easy to overplay. But that's tiny solace, indeed, in this joyless Washington Christmastide. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



A reading test.

A maze of garbled letters. That's just what 27 million Americans see when they look at a page of print. They couldn't distinguish this page from any other.

These Americans are functionally illiterate — on a one-way ticket to American poverty.

Illiteracy breeds frustration, anguish and crime. Its costs are enormous. Welfare checks, lost taxes, poor workmanship and remedial education amount to more than $200 billion a year.

Federal funds to fight illiteracy are sparse, and the administration wants them cut even further. Yet each year the number of functional adult illiterates grows by another 2.3 million persons.

To fight adult illiteracy, we need to stop the rising rate of teenage dropouts. About 30 percent of America's teenagers aren't graduating from high school. In large cities the dropout rate runs between 35-50 percent.

We cannot let almost a third of America's youth continue to drift toward hopelessness.

That's why the National Education Association has initiated a major new effort to rescue young people from dropping out. The NEA has established a $1.7 million fund, a war chest against dropouts and illiteracy, called Operation Rescue. And we're asking other concerned groups — both inside and outside education — to match us, dollar for dollar in our fight against academic failure.

Our goal with Operation Rescue: to cut the dropout rate in half by 1990, a significant step to stem the tide of illiteracy.

Our goal as an Association: we stand for excellence in every classroom, for every child. That has never wavered in 128 years.

nea

National Education Association

THE SUBJECT IS EXCELLENCE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FRAGILE POLITY

RECENT OR current self-inflicted wounds on both sides of the Atlantic have focused my attention on the fragility of our democratic systems. There is something wrong when the President of the United States feels constrained to fire a man he would later describe as a "national hero."

There is something wrong, too, when Britain's top civil servant and Secretary to the Cabinet, Sir Robert Armstrong, is subjected to the kind of ordeal he went through in a Sydney, Australia, courtroom over the propriety of allowing a former member of Britain's Security Service (MI-5) to publish material that has already been published elsewhere. After all, it is public (and highly publicized) knowledge that Mr. H. Chapman Pincher's two books, *Their Trade Is Treachery* and *Too Secret Too Long*, were largely based on the personal confidences of that same MI-5 man, Mr. Peter Wright, who lives in Tasmania.

Is there not something wrong, also, when a privatizing premier, M. Jacques Chirac of France, has to "cohabit" with a Socialist president responsible for nationalizing some of the enterprises Chirac now wishes to privatize?

The trouble with democracy is that, like terrorism, it is probably invincible. I cannot quite make up my mind which of the three systems alluded to above is the most, and which the least, absurd.

The American system, admirably conceived by the Founding Fathers, now gives a quite disproportionate de-facto wrecking power to Congress. In this space (May 9, 1986) I praised my colleague Gordon Crovitz of the *Wall Street Journal* for pointing out that, under the Constitution, the President has a free hand in foreign affairs and does not need congressional approval to give money to the Contras or other groups of his own choosing. This is a view with which the State Department's legal advisor, Mr. Abraham Sofaer, is reported to agree.

At which point, a fair comment might be: "Tell that to the Marines"—or more precisely to one Marine, Lieutenant Colonel North.

One of the many points on which the American practice of democracy differs from the British is the relative indiscipline of congressmen. On my first extensive tour of the United States many years ago, I made the discovery (revealing to me then, commonplace to Americans) that right-wing Democrats were to the right of left-wing Republicans. There is something inherently distasteful in the circumstance that an American President, wishing his foreign-policy plans to go through the congressional barrier relatively unscathed, has to spend exhausting time and energy calling the waverers and cajoling them (or threatening them, by implication) into voting the right way.

A British prime minister is not similarly bothered, in normal circumstances, assuming he or she has a comfortable majority in the House of Commons. The "whip" system, by *ordering* members of the party in power to attend crucial divisions and vote as one, ensures a stability that an American President might well envy.

The adversarial type of democracy practiced in the United Kingdom, on the other hand, *obliges* the Opposition to oppose. This recognized duty leads to predictable absurdities when, say, a reasonable Labourite (if that is not an oxymoron) is bound to attack whatever the government is doing, even if he, as a private individual, happens to agree with it. Now that proceedings in the House are broadcast, in part, the listening public is regaled with the edifying cacophony of mutual insults and the Speaker's sometimes desperate cries of "Order! Order!"

As for the French system, the president of the Fifth Republic is undoubtedly the boss (General de Gaulle saw to that), but the constitution—much attacked by François Mitterrand before he began to enjoy its privileges—contains the notorious anomaly that the Assembly is elected for four years, and the president for seven. This worked when de Gaulle was in power and broadly supported by the Gaullist factions. Today, it is a recipe for legislative frustration.

Too Sensible

CAN ANYTHING be done? On paper, certainly. As faithful readers may be aware, I have worked out proposals for a strong and stable democratic system that would preserve the essential liberties while avoiding some of the absurdities of the present systems. These proposals occur in rudimentary form in *A Theory of Conflict* (1974) and are elaborated in *The Minimum State* (1979). The essentials are: 1) the creation of a *profession* of politics; 2) the designation of two candidates to contest each constituency or electoral division; 3) winners to form the ruling group for the lifetime of the elected assembly, losers to constitute the opposition; 4) mandatory reshuffling of candidates at each election, so that each candidate goes before a different constituency, and no candidate is opposed by the same person in consecutive elections.

Such a system would ensure that the composition of the ruling group would change with each election. It would minimize the risks of "one man/one vote," which, we may recall, brought Hitler to power.

The trouble with this eminently sensible proposal is that nobody is going to win an election on a platform to introduce it, so that probably the only chance of ever getting it through is at a time of democratic collapse, as an alternative to military rule. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CAPITAL BULLETINS

Au! Contra-ire!

CALL IT Contragate, Iranscam, or, as *The New Republic* recently dubbed it, Iranamok, the current fuss, most political observers claim, makes it unlikely that Congress will grant any more military aid to the Contras. With Democrats taking command of both the House and the Senate, the pundits reason, President Reagan was already going to have a very tough time getting the 100th Congress to go along with Contra aid. But with the Iran scandal centering on the possibly illegal re-routing of arms-sale profits to the Contras, opponents of Reagan's Central American policy have been kicking up their heels. "Contra aid is dead," chortled one Democratic leader after the scandal broke.

But reports of the demise of Contra aid may have been greatly exaggerated. A number of Democratic strategists are now quietly admitting that a dispassionate look at the upcoming Congress shows the President's Central American policy may be safe. Barring revelations of misconduct by the President himself, these Democrats think that Reagan will probably win congressional approval for more military aid to the Contras if he asks for it. The way they see it, support for the Contras in the House will remain at about last year's level (when Contra aid was approved by a 12-vote margin). The new Speaker, Jim Wright, is not expected to rail as hard against Contra aid as did his predecessor, Tip O'Neill. After all, they point out, most of Wright's colleagues in the Texas delegation voted in favor of Contra aid last year; all of Tip's Massachusetts colleagues voted against it.

"Those who are against it will continue to be against it. Those who are for it will continue to be for it. And those who are in the middle but who voted for it last time will probably vote for it again for the same reasons they voted for it last time: The anti-Contra forces in the Democratic Party have failed to come up with a compelling alternative to funding the Contras," explains one top Democratic staff member.

On the Senate side, things look roughly the same. Although the Republicans lost Contra votes in the elections (Daschle for Abdnor in South Dakota, Reid for Laxalt in Nevada, Fowler for Mattingly in Georgia), they held their own in other races (Contra supporter Graham for Mrs. Hawkins in Florida, Sanford for Broyhill in North Carolina, and Shelby for Denton in Alabama) and even picked up a new ally (Bond for Eagleton in Missouri). At the same time, the anti-Contra forces in Congress have yet to muster the kind of argument that will sway such miscreants as Senator Bill Bradley, who shocked his Democratic colleagues by voting for Contra aid. Meanwhile, nose-counters on Capitol Hill believe that, in a pinch, Republican defectors such as Senators Daniel Evans and Arlen Specter could be brought back into the fold. Contra aid passed the Senate 53 to 47 last year. This year, strategists agree a 51 to 49 vote is more likely. With the Senate gavel firmly in George Bush's hands in case the President needs a tie-breaking vote, new aid for the Contras is more likely than not.

—PETER OSTERLUND

The GOP's Black Eye

REPUBLICAN STRATEGISTS hoping to up the GOP's share of the black vote were dismayed by the results of the 1986 election. The cornerstone of the campaign to attract disaffected black voters was a series of radio ads designed by the Louisiana-based Nathan Group, an advertising agency run by black Republicans. These ads featured fictitious black families such as the Dawsons sitting around the kitchen table, wringing their hands over how the Democrats take their votes for granted. But the potential of this message was squandered when masterminds at the Republican National Committee decided to respond to Democratic get-out-the-vote campaigns with a dubious scheme called "ballot integrity."

This ballot-integrity program was supposed to purge improperly registered voters from the rolls in Louisiana parishes that went 75 per cent or more for Walter Mondale in 1984. An RNC internal memo explained that such a program "could keep the black vote down considerably." Democrats quickly seized on the issue, proffering their own series of ads in which Mama Dawson, outraged at the Republican attempt to take away her vote, exclaims, "Just wait until your Uncle Thomas hears about this!"

Black Republicans were also outraged. Clarence Thomas, chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and a Reagan appointee, called the ballot-integrity program "pretty disgusting," adding, "We haven't recognized that we need black voters." Bill Keyes of BLACK-PAC says flatly: "It was stupid."

A ballot-integrity program might make sense, but the RNC ought to have set it in motion a year before the election. Instead, it was launched in September, and the Democrats jumped all over it. "For about ten days in early October, [ballot integrity] was the major issue discussed," complains Joe Karpinsky, a spokesman for Representative Henson Moore's losing campaign in Louisiana. "The publicity about ballot integrity didn't help," agrees Richard Moore, an aide to defeated Georgia Senator Mack Mattingly. Even Lawrence Dillard, the RNC's main strategist for attracting black votes, agrees that the bad publicity hurt GOP candidates.

In North Carolina, for example, Democrat Terry Sanford made successful use of a "very aggressive, negative campaign" in the closing days, according to Lisa Brewer, a spokesman for outgoing Senator James Broyhill. Eighty-eight per cent of North Carolina's black voters went for Sanford, offsetting Broyhill's 56 per cent majority among white voters, according to a CBS News poll. The results in that and other close races suggest the Republicans' inept handling of the black vote may have cost the party its Senate majority.

—HENRY KLINGEMAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TURN A DOLLAR INTO A GREAT CLASSICAL COLLECTION

BACH

331488-391482. Bach: Brandenburg Concertos, 1 to 6 (complete)—Kapp, Philharmonia Virtuosi of New York (Counts as 2—*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

336578-396572. Bach: Flute Sonatas—Rampal, Pinnock (Counts as 2—*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

343251. Bach: Goldberg Variations—Glenn Gould (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

330647. Bach: Unaccompanied Cello Suites 1, 2—performed by Yo-Yo Ma (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

345538-395533. Bach: Four Orchestral Suites—Marriner, Academy of St. Martin (Counts as 2—*Digital*—Angel)

171504. Switched-On Bach. Wendy Carlos' all-time best-seller! (CBS Masterworks)

BEETHOVEN

345546. Beethoven: Cello Sonata No. 4; Variations—Yo-Yo Ma and Emanuel Ax (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

273409. Beethoven: Three Favorite Piano Sonatas—Moonlight, Appassionata, Pathetique. V. Horowitz, piano (CBS Masterworks)

338004-398008. Beethoven Piano Sonatas—Moonlight, Appassionata, Tempest, 3 more. A. Brendel (Counts as 2—Vox Cum Laude)

345199. Beethoven: Overtures (*Egmont; Fidelio; Leonore 1, 3;* etc.)—Colin Davis, Bavarian Radio Orch. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

232496. Beethoven: Symphony No. 3 (Eroica)—Bernstein and New York Philharmonic (Columbia)

321570. Beethoven: Symphony No. 5; Schubert: Symph. No. 8 (Unfinished)—Maazel, Vienna Philhar. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

331108. Beethoven: Symphony No. 7 (original chamber version)—M. Tilson Thomas, English Chamber Orch. (CBS Masterworks)

252874. Beethoven: Symphony No. 9 (Choral)—Eugene Ormandy and the Philadelphia Orchestra. (Columbia)

342667. Beethoven: Piano Concertos No. 3 & 4—Perahia; Haitink, Amsterdam Concertgebouw (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

344119. Beethoven and Mozart: Quintets For Piano & Winds—Perahia, soloists, English Chamber (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

341982-391987. Beethoven: Sonatas for Piano & Violin, Vol. I—Eugene Istomin & Isaac Stern (Counts as 2—*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

349134-399139. Beethoven: Sonatas for Piano & Violin, Vol. 2—Eugene Istomin & Isaac Stern (Counts as 2—*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

327221. Beethoven: Violin Concerto—Menuhin: Masur, Leipzig Gewandhaus (*Digital*—Angel)

BRAHMS

346833. Brahms: Ballades, Op. 10; Rhapsodies, Op. 79—Glenn Gould, piano (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

341107. Brahms: Double Concerto—Menuhin; Tortelier; Berglund, London Phil. (*Digital*—Angel)

334243. Brahms: Piano Concerto No. 1—Weissenberg, Muti, Philadelphia Orch. (*Digital*—Angel)

347369. Brahms: Hungarian Dances—pianists Michel Beroff & Jean-Philippe Collard (Angel Master Series)

345561. Brahms-Schoenberg: Piano Quartet, Op. 25; Bach-Schoenberg: 2 Choral Preludes—M. Tilson Thomas, Bavarian Radio Orchestra (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

332668. Brahms: Symphony No. 1—Tennstedt and London Philharmonic Orch. (*Digital*—Angel)

349605-399600. Brahms: Sonatas for Violin & Piano; Scherzo; etc—I. Perlman & V. Ashkenazy (Counts as 2—*Digital*—Angel)

330118. Brahms: String Quintets, Op. 88 & 111—Boston Symph. Chamber Players (*Digital*—Nonesuch)

341198. Brahms: String Quartets Nos. 1 & 3—The Tokyo String Quartet (*Digital*—Vox Cum Laude)

344499-394494. Brahms: A German Requiem; Alto Rhapsody; etc.—soloists, London Philharmonic under Klaus Tennstedt (Counts as 2—*Digital*—Angel)

CHOPIN

343103. Chopin: The Four Ballades; Sonata No. 2 (Funeral March)—Andrei Gavrilov (*Digital*—Angel)

343152-393157. Chopin: Nocturnes—Abbey Simon at the piano (Counts as 2—Vox Cum Laude)

330100. Chopin: Piano Concerto No. 2; Saint-Saens: Piano Concerto No. 2—Cecile Licad, piano; Andre Previn, London Philharmonic (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

343111. Chopin: Scherzo #2; Fantasie; Ballade #1; Three Nocturnes—Youri Egorov, piano (*Digital*—Angel)

DEBUSSY

346338. Debussy & Ravel String Quartets—Alban Berg Quar. (*Digital*—Angel)

340638-390633. Debussy: Preludes, Books I, II; etc. Youri Egorov (Counts as 2—*Digital*—Angel)

335679. Debussy: La Mer; Nocturnes—Andre Previn, cond. London Symphony (*Digital*—Angel)

304931. Debussy: Images For Orchestra; Prelude To An Afternoon Of A Faun—Previn, London Symph. (*Digital*—Angel)

MAHLER

334508. Mahler: Symphony No. 1 (Titan)—Riccardo Muti conducting the Philadelphia Orchestra (*Digital*—Angel)

329094-399097. Mahler: Symphony No. 2 (Resurrection)—Lorin Maazel, Vienna Phil. (Counts as 2—*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

317685. Mahler: Symphony No. 4—Ameling; Previn, Pittsburgh Sym. (Angel)

349274-399279. Mahler: Symphonies Nos. 9 & 10 (Adagio)—Lorin Maazel & Vienna Phil. (Counts as 2—*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

MENDELSSOHN

330142. Mendelssohn: Violin Concerto; Saint-Saens: Concerto No. 3—Cho-Liang Lin, violinist; Thomas, Philharmonia Orch. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

332056. Mendelssohn: A Midsummer Night's Dream; Scherzo (from Octet Op. 20)—David Zinman and Rochester Philharmonic (*Digital*—Vox Cum Laude)

MOZART

344101. Mozart: Symphonies Nos. 38 & 39—Neville Marriner, Academy of St. Martin (Digital—Angel)

328740. Mozart: Piano Concerto 26 (Coronation); **Rondos**—Murray Perahia, English Chamber Orchestra (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

341628-391623. Mozart: Sonatas For Fortepiano & Violin, Vol. 3—Malcolm Bilson, fortepiano; Sergiu Luca, violin (Counts as 2—*Digital*—Nonesuch)

346320-396325. Mozart: Music For Basset Horns—members Chicago Symph. Winds (Counts as 2—*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

341974. Mozart: Music For Wind Quintet—played by Ensemble Wien-Berlin (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

321224. Mozart: Overtures—Don Giovanni, Cosi fan tutte; etc. Marriner, Acad. St. Martin (*Digital*—Angel)

340596. Mozart: Sonata, K. 448; Schubert: Fantasia Radu Lupu, Murray Perahia—ideal piano duo team! (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

349720-399725. Mozart: Complete Piano Concertos, Vol. 1 (Nos. 1-6 & 8)—Murray Perahia & English Chamber Orch.(Counts as 2—CBS Masterworks)

RACHMANINOFF

334540. Rachmaninoff: Piano Concerto No. 2; Rhapsody On A Theme Of Paganini—Cecile Licad; Abbado, Chicago Symph. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

334565. Rachmaninoff: Symphony No. 2 (complete version)—Simon Rattle and Los Angeles Philharmonic (*Digital*—Angel)

BAROQUE

319525-399527. Handel: The Messiah—Malgorie conducts soloists, choir & La Grande Ecurie (Counts as 2—CBS Masterworks)

346015. Handel: Royal Fireworks Music; other works—Malgorie, La Grande Ecurie & la Chambre duRoy (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

329615. Handel: Water Music. Malgorie, cond. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

345975. Monteverdi: 18 Madrigals (from the Second Madrigal Book)—Collegium Vocale Koln; Fromme, dir. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

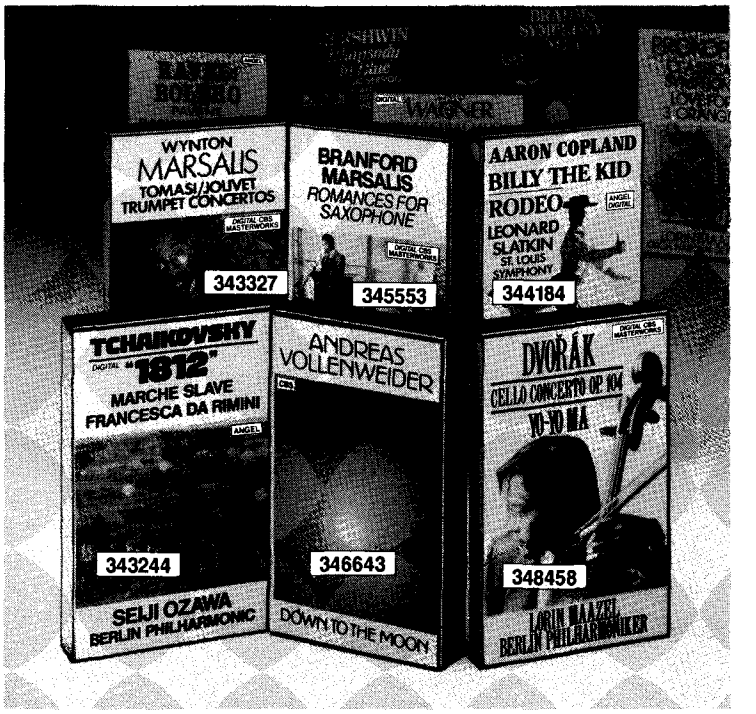
340190. Reich: The Desert Music—M.T. Thomas, cond. (*Digital*—Nonesuch)

329524. Sousa: Peaches & Cream—Marches, Dances—Kunzel, Cincinnati Pops (*Digital*—Vox Cum Laude)

338814. Webber: Requiem—with Domingo, Brightman, Maazel, English Chamber Orch. (*Digital*—Angel)

ROMANTICS

349654-399659. Berlioz: Romeo Et Juliette—Jessye Norman, Simon Estes, etc.; Muti and Philadelphia Orch. (Counts as 2—*Digital*—Angel)



SCHUBERT

343707. Schubert: The Impromptus, Op. 90 & 142—Murray Perahia is the *pianist in these lovely works* (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

343533. Schubert: Quartet No. 14 (Death & The Maiden) **& 13** (Rosamunde)—The Alban Berg Quartet (*Digital*—Angel)

341677. Schubert: Symphonies 2 & 8 (Unfinished)—Daniel Barenboim and the Berlin Philharmonic (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

344549. Schubert: Symphonies 3 & 5—Daniel Barenboim, Berlin Phil. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

345959. Schubert: "Wanderer" Fantasie; Schumann: Fantasie—Murray Perahia in two lyrical performances (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

TCHAIKOVSKY

329169. Tchaikovsky: Symphony No. 4—Lorin Maazel, Cleveland Orch. (CBS Masterworks)

343350. Tchaikovsky: Symphony No. 5; Voyevode—Claudio Abbado and the Chicago Symphony (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

304352-394353. Tchaikovsky: The Nutcracker (complete)—Andrew Davis and Toronto Symphony in this ever-popular ballet (*Counts as 2—Columbia*)

334680. Tchaikovsky: Suites From "Swan Lake" and "Sleeping Beauty"—Riccardo Muti conducting the Philadelphia Orchestra (*Digital*—Angel)

336461. Tchaikovsky: Violin Concerto; Serenade—Pinchas Zukerman; Zubin Mehta, Israel Philharmonic (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

348649. Pachelbel Canon & Other Delights—Andrew Davis, Toronto Chamber Orch. (*Digital*—Fanfare)

343715. Vivaldi: Four Seasons—Lorin Maazel, soloists French Nat'l Orch. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

332544. Vivaldi: 6 Flute Concertos (Op. 10). Rampal; Scimone and I Solisti Veneti (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

MODERN

345504. Berg: Violin Concerto (To The Memory Of An Angel); **3 Orchestral Pieces**—Zukerman; Boulez, BBC (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

349688. Bernstein: Fancy Free & Facsimile (complete ballets); **Candide Overture;** others—Slatkin, St. Louis Symphony (*Digital*—Angel)

263293. Bolling: Suite For Flute & Jazz Piano—Jean-Pierre Rampal and Claude Bolling (CBS Masterworks)

347567. George Gershwin's Song Book *and other music* for solo piano—Leonard Pennario (*Digital*—Angel)

340182. Glass, Philip: Mishima—music for the film (*Digital*—Nonesuch)

339226. Gershwin: Rhapsody In Blue; Second Rhapsody; etc.—M. Tilson Thomas, Los Angeles Phil. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

330886. Grofe: Grand Canyon Suite; Mississippi Suite—E. Batiz, Royal Philharmonic (*Digital*—Angel)

341297. Prokofiev: Symphony No. 1 (Classical); **Love For Three Oranges Suite**—Lorin Maazel, cond. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

324822. Ravel: Bolero; Rapsodie Espagnole; La Valse; etc. Maazel cond. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

335547. Berlioz: Symphonie Fantastique—Barenboim cond. Berlin Philharmonic (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

331595. Bizet: Carmen Suite; L'Arlesienne Suites 1, 2—Seiji Ozawa, Orchestre National de France (*Digital*—Angel)

342386. Dvorak: Slavonic Dances, Op. 46—Andrew Davis, Philharmonia Orch. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

346007. Dvorak: String Sextet, Op. 48; Smetana: Piano Trio, Op. 15—lyrical performances by Boston Symph. Chamber Players (*Digital*—Nonesuch)

333575. Elgar: Enigma Variations; Pomp And Circumstances Marches—Andrew Davis conducts the Philharmonia Orchestra (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

348425. Franck: Symphony in D Minor; Symphonic Variations—Weissenberg, piano; von Karajan, Berlin Phil. (Angel Master Series)

336990. Grieg: Peer Gynt (incidental Music)—Lucia Popp; Marriner, Academy St. Martin (*Digital*—Angel)

345942. Grieg: Piano Concerto; Mendelssohn: Concerto No. 1—Ousset; Marriner, London Symphony (*Digital*—Angel)

343491. Lalo: Symphonie Espagnole; Sarasate: Zigeunerweisen—Anne-Sophie Mutter; S. Ozawa cond. (*Digital*—Angel)

321190. Liszt: Hungarian Rhapsodies 1 & 4; etc.—Boskovsky cond. (Angel)

331322. Saint-Saens: Carnival of the Animals; Prokofiev: Peter and the Wolf—I. Perlman, violin; K. & M. Labeque, pianists; Z. Mehta (*Digital*—Angel)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

343467. Sibelius: Symphony No. 1; Oceanides—Simon Rattle, Birmingham Symphony (*Digital*—Angel)

334771. Sibelius: Symphonies No. 4 and **7**—Berglund, Helsinki Philharmonic (*Digital*—Angel)

225888. Smetana: The Moldau, "Bartered Bride" (excerpts); etc. Bernstein, New York Philharmonic (Columbia)

344127. Strauss, Richard: Don Quixote; Schoenberg: Concerto D Major—Yo-Yo Ma; Ozawa, Boston Symph. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

VIRTUOSO!

328013. Nancy Allen—harp music by Debussy, Ravel (*Digital*—Angel)

334524. Salvatore Accardo Plays Paganini, Vol. 1—this great violinist plays *Moto perpetuo, Larghetto,* others. (*Digital*—Angel)

325886. Liona Boyd Live In Tokyo. Popular guitarist plays music by Ponce, Soler, Dowland, DeFalla (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

348441. Liona Boyd—Persona. Liona's debut pop album features *Labyrinth* (with Eric Clapton) (CBS)

330159. Bob James—Rameau. The jazz artist on synthesizers. Superb! (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

350561. Ofra Harnoy & Orford String Quartet Play The Beatles. *Yesterday,* etc. (*Digital*—Fanfare)

350553. The Best Of Ofra Harnoy. Popular Canadian cellist—Summertime, The Swan, etc. (*Digital*—Fanfare)

246843. Vladimir Horowitz—New Recordings Of Chopin. (Columbia)

331314. Katia & Marielle Labeque Play Gershwin. (*Digital*—Angel)

340257. Liszt: Piano Concertos Nos. 1 & 2—Bolet; Zinman, Rochester Phil. (Vox Cum Laude)

310870-390872. Johann Strauss' Greatest Waltzes—*Blue Danube,* others. (Counts as 2—Columbia)

310086. Wagner: Overtures—*Flying Dutchman, Rienzi,* etc. Maazel, Philharmonia Orch. (CBS Masterworks)

334276. Canadian Brass & Berlin Phil. Brass—Brass In Berlin—Bach, etc. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

345520. Empire Brass—A Bach Festival. D Major, organ (*Digital*—Angel)

349282-399287. Glenn Gould Legacy, Vol. 2—piano music by Beethoven, Haydn, Mozart (Counts as 2—CBS Masterworks)

339408. Hubert Laws/Chick Corea/Quincy Jones. Blanchard New Earth Sonata; etc. (CBS Masterworks)

329607. Wynton Marsalis—Purcell, Handel, Torelli, etc. Edita Gruberova, soprano (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

343624. Wynton Marsalis Plays Trumpet Concertos. Haydn, Hummel, L. Mozart (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

344564. Cecile Ousset Plays French Piano Music. Debussy, Ravel, Saint-Saens, Chabrier (*Digital*—Angel)

338178. Christopher Parkening—A Bach Celebration. Arrangements for solo guitar and chamber orchestra (*Digital*—Angel)

280610. Jean-Pierre Rampal—Greatest Hits. Handel's *Largo;* others (CBS Masterworks)

344135. Jean-Pierre Rampal—A Night At The Opera. Music by Massenet, Gluck, Mozart, etc. Placido Domingo sings & conducts (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

344515. Noel Rawsthorne—Organ Spectacular! Music by Sousa, Handel, Elgar, etc. (*Digital*—Angel)

347351. Rudolf Serkin Plays Reger (Variations & Fugue On A Theme By Bach) **and Haydn** (Sonata No. 50) (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

343673. Andre Watts—Live In Tokyo. Music by Brahms, Scarlatti, Haydn, Ravel, etc. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

334763. John Williams—Bach, Handel, Marcello Concertos *arr. for guitar* (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

VOCAL AND ORCHESTRAL COLLECTIONS

331942. The Academy—By Request. Marriner and Academy of St. Martin. Bach, etc. (*Digital*—Angel)

328146. Willi Boskovsky cond. Symphonic Waltzes by R. Strauss, Tchaikovsky, Weber, etc. (*Digital*—Angel)

346353. Maria Callas Sings Verdi. Arias from Don Carlo, Otello, etc. (Angel Voices)

345934. Jose Carreras—Opera Arias. *Don Carlos, Pagliacci, Turandot, Aida, La Perichole,* etc. (Angel)

341602. Jose Carreras—French Opera Arias. Arias from Le Cid, Faust, Carmen, etc. (*Digital*—Angel)

292003-392001. Curtain Raisers—The World's Favorite Overtures. Szell, Bernstein, Ormandy, etc. (Counts as 2—Columbia)

337279. Placido Domingo—Save Your Nights For Me. *Love Came For Me; Maria;* etc. (CBS)

326553. Placido Domingo—Great Love Scenes. Ileana Cotrubas, Renata Scotto, Kiri Te Kanawa (CBS Masterworks)

347344. Benny Goodman—Collector's Edition. Includes Copland's *Clarinet Concerto;* also music by Bartok, Stravinsky, others (CBS Masterworks)

345462-395467. Gilbert & Sullivan—The Pirates of Penzance. Glyndebourne Festival Chorus and the Pro-Arte Orchestra (Counts as 2—Angel Voices)

344556. Greatest Hits Of The 1900's. Barber *Adagio;* Faure *Pavane;* others. Kapp. Philarmonia Virtuosi (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

346361. Edita Gruberova—Debussy, Mozart, Wolf (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

326389. Peter Hofmann Sings Wagner. Arias from Tannhauser, Lohengrin, etc. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

347559. Von Karajan In Paris. Music by Chabrier, Gounod, Bizet (Angel)

332494. Erich Kunzel—International Salute. Music by Gould, Sibelius, etc. Cincinnati Pops Orch. (*Digital*—Vox Cum Laude)

349662. Eva Marton Sings Puccini Arias. Tosca, etc. Patane, Munich Radio Orch. (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

331959-391953. Mormon Tabernacle Choir—Great Choruses of Bach and Handel. (Counts as 2—CBS Masterworks)

346346. Jessye Norman—Lieder Recital. Songs by Schubert, Poulenc, Wagner (Angel Master Series)

337444. Eugene Ormandy—In Memoriam. Barber's *Adagio for Strings;* etc. (*Digital*—Angel)

334730. Lucia Popp Sings Schubert Lieder. *Gretchen Am Spinnrade, Die Forelle;* others (*Digital*—Angel)

339242. Puccini Heroines. Eva Marton, Renata Scotto, etc. (CBS Masterworks)

335455. Portrait of Frederica Von Stade. Rossini, Mozart, Brahms, etc. (CBS Masterworks)

346379. Frederica Von Stade—Songs Of The Auvergne, Vol. 2. Also Canteloube's *Triptyque.* (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

349670. Teresa Stratas Sings Kurt Weill. Schwartz and Y Chamber Symphony (*Digital*—Nonesuch)

340562. Waverly Consort—Renaissance Favorites. Gibbons, Morley, Des Prez (*Digital*—CBS Masterworks)

ANY 11 TAPES OR RECORDS FOR $1.00

plus shipping/handling
if you join the Club now and agree to buy 8 more selections (at regular Club prices) during the coming 3 years

SEND NO MONEY—JUST MAIL COUPON TO GET YOUR CLASSICAL COLLECTION.

Here's a wonderful opportunity to get a great classical collection of your own choice—all at once—all for only a dollar! As a new member of the Club's Classical Division, you may have any 11 of the tape cassettes or stereo records offered here—all 11 for only $1.00, plus shipping and handling. And in exchange, you simply agree to buy just 8 more selections in the next three years, at regular Club prices (which currently are $7.98 to $11.98, plus shipping and handling; some multi-unit sets and special recordings may be somewhat higher).

How the Club works: every four weeks (13 times a year) you'll receive our Music Magazine. It describes the "Classical Selection of the Month" *plus* scores of classical releases, as well as selections from other fields of music. In addition, up to six times a year you may receive offers of Special Selections, usually at a discount off regular Club prices, for a total of up to 19 buying opportunities.

CDs also available to Club members. Each issue of the Music Magazine contains a wide selection of Compact Discs—which you may order and these purchases also count toward fulfillment of your membership obligation.

There is no obligation to accept the "Selection of the Month"—you order *only* the recordings you want *when you want them!* A special response card will be enclosed with each Magazine—mail it by the date specified to order *or* reject any selection. And if you want *only* the "Selection of the Month," do nothing—it will be shipped automatically. You'll have at least ten days in which to make your decision—if you ever have less time than that, just return the Selection at our expense. And you may cancel membership anytime after buying 8 selections, or continue under our "buy one—get one free" money-saving bonus plan.

10-Day Free Trial: we'll send details of the Club's operation with your introductory shipment. If you are not satisfied for any reason, return everything within 10 days—your membership will be canceled and you will owe nothing.

Special Start-Your-Membership-Now Offer: you may *also* choose your first selection now—and we'll send it to you for at least 60% off regular Club prices (only $2.99). This discount purchase reduces your membership obligation immediately—you then need buy just 7 more (instead of 8) in 3 years. Just check box in application and fill in the number of your first selection.

NOTE: selections with two numbers are 2-record sets or double-length tapes. Each of these "double selections" counts as 2—so write in both numbers.

Columbia House
A Division of CBS Inc.
1400 North Fruitridge Avenue
Terre Haute, Indiana 47811

© 1987 Columbia House

Columbia Record & Tape Club, 1400 N. Fruitridge
CLASSICAL DIVISION, Terre Haute, IN 47811

Please accept my membership application under the terms outlined in this advertisement. Send me the 11 classical selections listed here for only $1.00, plus shipping and handling. I agree to buy eight more selections (at regular Club prices) in the coming three years—and may cancel membership at any time after doing so.

Send my selections in this type of recording (check one):
☐ TAPE CASSETTES ☐ STEREO RECORDS

SEND ME THESE 11 SELECTIONS

☐ Mr.
☐ Mrs. _____
☐ Miss *Print First Name* *Initial* *Last Name*

Address _____ Apt. _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Do you have a VCR? (check one) ☐ Yes ☐ No 162/S87
Do you have a credit card? (check one) ☐ Yes ☐ No

This offer is not available in APO, FPO, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico; please write for details of alternative offer.

☐ Also send my first selection for at least a 60% discount for which I will be billed an additional $2.99. I then need buy only 7 more (instead of 8) at regular Club prices, in the coming 3 years.

☐ CLASSICAL
AN4/ME AN5/MD

We reserve the right to request additional information or reject any application.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IRAN GAMES

The Public Brawl, The Secret War

RICHARD BROOKHISER

One of Ronald Reagan's favorite stories concerns a pair of boys who are given the chore of shoveling manure out of a stable—a task so daunting that one of them, a pessimist, finally gives it up. When the other, an optimist, is asked why he persists, he explains, "There's got to be a pony in here somewhere."

So far, no ponies have turned up for Ronald Reagan in Irandeal. Liberals may find a few. They certainly hope so. "There's no one who wants to see a Presidency crippled," claimed Representative Lee Hamilton (D., Ind.), chairman of the House Intelligence Committee. That is absurd. The instinct of any political animal is to cripple a Presidency that he opposes. The opponents of the Reagan Administration have tried, in turn, the 1982 recession, Lebanon, Walter Mondale, and Bitburg, all without success. This is their last, and best, shot. The questions they are pursuing boil down to two—who did what, and when—for it is in answer to these that instances of obvious incompetence or legal wrong-doing may emerge. Besides these questions, meanwhile, are others, not so well canvassed but more important, concerning the nature and conduct of foreign policy.

The outline of the public story—the stable in which Congress and the press are busily digging—is by now generally known. In August and November of 1985, Israel, with American encouragement, sold two batches of antitank missiles to Iran. In January of 1986, President Reagan signed an intelligence finding authorizing direct American sales, which began in February and continued at intervals through September. Meanwhile, sometime in the spring, Irandeal spread out beyond Iran, as profits from the sales—some $10 million—were routed to the "covert" war against the Sandinistas. The story of the arms sales was first leaked by Iranians to a Lebanese magazine, which broke it early in November. Three weeks later, Attorney General Meese revealed the Nicaraguan angle.

The potential improprieties are many. As far as the Iranian half of the deal goes, there are laws regulating arms traffic with terrorist nations. The National Security Act also requires that Congress be notified of any covert intelligence operation "in a timely fashion"; Congress had to wait ten months. Beyond the law, there is also the inconsistency of condemning the thuggery of terror while at the same time dealing with thugs, or their close friends.

As far as Nicaragua goes, there is no inconsistency. The Reagan Administration has never been a fan of the Sandinistas. But the legal situation is still more tangled. From October 1984 until three months ago, Congress, though it voted small amounts of "humanitarian" aid for the Contras, specifically forbade any American military assistance.

The impresario of both the Iranian and the Nicaraguan halves of the deal was Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North, until November a staffer with the National Security Council. They were not his first special projects at the NSC. Lieutenant Colonel North had played leading roles in the Grenada invasion, in the capture of the *Achille Lauro* hijackers, and in the AWACS sale to Saudi Arabia. No doubt he trod on a toe or two, which has not served him well now. "When a hot-shot lieutenant colonel who's doing that kind of thing starts flaming a little," a defense lobbyist told me, "they pump oxygen at him."

Two of North's activities gave him important connections for Irandeal. During the *Achille Lauro* operation, he had worked with Amiram Nir, an Israeli specialist in counter-terror, who later helped set up the first shipments to Iran. From the AWACS sale, North made Saudi friends—which may explain where the "profit" on the Iranian arms deal came from. Iran's downpayment on the American arms was paid by Adnan Kashoggi, a multimillionaire Saudi businessman. According to the *New York Times*, Kashoggi got $35 million last summer from a Saudi bank "closely linked to the ruling royal family."

The purpose in sending Iranian, or Saudi, money to Central America was clear: to change the character of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nicaraguan government by means of Contra pressure. Lieutenant Colonel North has not been the only source of cash; the Sultan of Brunei gave the Contras another $10 million of his own.

The purpose behind the Iranian arms sale was more murky. One of the Administration's goals was to secure the release of American hostages held by Lebanese Shiites. The Administration was also looking for potential anti-Soviets in post-Khomeini Iran. In this round of the Great Game, the black turban was thought to be worn by Hussein Ali Montazeri, Khomeini's heir apparent; the (relatively) white one by Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, the speaker of the Iranian parliament.

President Reagan's position has been that he approved the Iranian sale, but not the Nicaraguan switch. His January 1986 intelligence finding will not silence his critics, since he was still supposed to make "timely" notification to Congress. But it shifts the controversy to the level of a political struggle between him and Capitol Hill: Is ten months timely? *—No. —Yes. —All right, let's fight.* Since Congress cannot take the matter to the courts, its only legalistic recourse is impeachment. Short of this, the fight must take the form of polemics, vetoes, overrides, and general contumacity. The outcome will depend in large part on how wise the voters think it was to try to deal with Iran. As of now, the consensus seems to be, Not very. "What is an Iranian moderate?" runs a joke. "One who has run out of ammunition."

If Reagan had given a similar order for the shift of funds, it would be a similar issue. But he says he did not know about it until the week before Thanksgiving. His "only criticism" of Oliver North, he told *Time*, "is that I wasn't told everything." But it seems implausible that a lieutenant colonel, even a hot-shot, would buck $10 million to a different war and hemisphere on his own authority. Whose authority did he have? (For one possible scenario, see "On the Right," p. 70.) If not knowing the answer to this question perturbs you, take heart. It will be very thoroughly excavated from now till Election Day, 1988.

SO MUCH FOR the public questions of Irandeal. Beneath them lie a pair of very different questions: Who runs foreign policy, and what kind of policy should it be?

One of the catchphrases of the crisis, always uttered in accents of outrage, is that Irandeal was being run "out of the White House basement"—the derogatory synecdoche for the National Security Council. The outraged have a point, for whether you lodge the NSC in the basement or in the Rose Room, it was never intended for this kind of work. Recent Presidents—not just Reagan—turn to it because there often seems to be nowhere else to go.

The NSC first appeared in the Truman Administration—a product of the foreign-policy Big Bang that created the whole system of liberal containment. Originally it served as a forum for policy coordination and disagreement—a place, according to Dean Acheson, where "all parties in interest" could "be present . . . at the same time with the right to be heard and to hear one another. . . . It was kept small; aides and brief-carriers were excluded, a practice—unfortunately not continued—that made free and frank debate possible."

Acheson's minimalist interpretation suited his practice as Secretary of State, since, throughout Truman's tenure, the lead in foreign policy was firmly held by Foggy Bottom. The Long Telegram, the Mr. X article, the Marshall Plan, the Truman Doctrine—all were the creations of the State Department, or of Foreign Service Officers. Truman, who saw eye to eye with Acheson, and with Acheson's predecessor, George Marshall, was content to have it so.

But the State Department, like the rest of the Federal Government, grew over the years; and with growth came inflexibility. "A large bureaucracy," wrote Henry Kissinger, of the fourth Presidency after Truman's, "tends to stifle creativity . . . [It] has an incentive to exaggerate technical complexity and minimize the scope of importance of political judgment; it favors the status quo, however arrived at, because short of an unambiguous catastrophe the status quo has the advantage of familiarity, and it is never possible to prove that another course would yield superior results." There are at present seven hundred-some senior FSOs at State, and, as one Washingtonian put it to me, "you can't send them all to Lagos." Kissinger's solution, and Nixon's, was to bypass State and use the NSC—at least until Kissinger became Secretary of State. Kissinger ran no secret wars out of the White House basement, but he certainly conducted secret negotiations.

Since the Nixon Administration, the foreign-policy game has acquired a third player, less hidebound than the State Department, but every bit as opposed to what Hamilton would have called "energy in the Executive." That is Congress. The classic example of Congress's post-Vietnam annexation of foreign-policy-making power is the War Powers Act. But we need not go so far afield. Irandeal offers two examples of Congress's influence.

As far as Iran goes, notification no longer means what it meant in the Forties and Fifties. Congress has few penalties to impose on misbehaving members, and little discipline. To notify Congress today, whether on time or at

Victoria Kann

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

leisure, is to notify the *Washington Post* tomorrow. If Congress could keep its mouth shut, it would have known who was flying to Teheran.

As for Nicaragua, Congress has been intimately involved in policy-making and management for more than two years. What sort of policy did it produce, and how?

There have been three factions in Congress on the Nicaraguan question. One faction—most of the Republican Party and a handful of Democrats—agreed with the Administration in being resolutely opposed to the course of Sandinista policy. It did not want a declaration of war, or an American invasion, and it had trouble making up its mind whether it intended to force the Sandinistas to the negotiating table or force them out—an important ambiguity. But it would not accept a Soviet satellite in Central America.

Another faction—a majority of the Democratic Party—had no great trouble with a Soviet satellite, and no willingness whatsoever to combat one actively. Most of these lawmakers were garden-variety liberals, like Senators Kennedy and Biden; some had roots in the farther Left, like Senators Cranston and Harkin; at least one—Senator Dodd—had ties of friendship to Nicaraguans. Dodd pungently expressed this faction's view of the Contras: "They're thugs, they're criminals, and they don't deserve to receive a nickel of taxpayers' money."

The third, and decisive, faction—liberalish Republicans and "moderate" Democrats—was hardest to characterize. Its members didn't like dictatorships or Soviet puppets; they were not unwilling to let America fight the Communists and to help the Contras in a quiet way. But they abhorred controversy and bad PR. Their waverings between factions one and two determined whatever Nicaraguan policy Congress may be said to have had.

The wavering began in earnest in March 1984 when Reagan asked for $21 million in Contra aid, to be added to the $24 million that had been voted at the end of 1983. The new request came at a bad time: A month later, the world learned that the CIA had been mining Nicaraguan harbors. The Sandinistas went to the World Court; Senator Moynihan indignantly resigned the vice-chairmanship of the Senate Intelligence Committee (he took it back in a few days); Mitterrand offered minesweepers to Managua.

The mines hadn't crippled Nicaraguan commerce, but they destroyed any chances of military aid. Senator Durenberger expressed a common sentiment: "I want the CIA out of running an open covert action to implement a policy that everybody's confused about." Congress cut the Contras off in October 1984. The most it would do was vote to allow the President to come back next February with a request for $14 million if he thought the situation in Central America warranted it.

Reagan came back in February 1985 with a blast at the Sandinistas. In April, he added a new wrinkle: He would hold up the military aid for sixty days, to allow church-sponsored negotiations. But this request too came at a bad time. By April of 1985, the storm over Reagan's Bitburg cemetery visit was blowing 12 on the Beaufort scale. On April 16, the Republican leadership in the Senate told Reagan that he couldn't get military aid through the House, and might well fail in the Senate. The next day, Senator Nunn gave a speech urging nonmilitary aid only. Reagan backed off, but the House did not. On April 23-24, it refused to approve aid of any kind to the Contras. Representative Bill Richardson (D., N.M.) took the occasion to warn the Sandinistas to "clean up their act."

Instead, they took their act on the road. Four days after the House's April 24 vote, Ortega went to Moscow and met with Gorbachev. The waverers were dismayed. "We should not be tying our own hands while Daniel Ortega is shaking those in the Kremlin," exclaimed Representative Dave McCurdy (D., Okla.). In June, the House reversed itself, approving $27 million in nonmilitary aid, which the CIA was forbidden to administer.

Reagan had promised to come back "again and again" on the issue, and in February 1986 he did, with a request for $100 million in Contra aid, $70 million of it military. Congressman McCurdy suggested a compromise: a ninety-day delay in dispensing half the money, to give Reagan time to . . . negotiate. "The President has had five years to negotiate, but no progress has been made," McCurdy complained. "He needs pressure from Congress."

The pressure he got from the House was another no on March 20. One waverer, Kika de la Garza (D., Tex.), explained his negative vote: "I have prayed for divine guidance." Reagan hoped for a big, bi-partisan yes vote in the Senate, but ran afoul of another proposal to negotiate, from Senator Sasser: "Let's put the Sandinistas to the test." Reagan wouldn't, and his Senate margin was slim.

What finally tipped the balance? The Sandinistas weren't helped by an incursion into Honduras two days after the House vote. Tip O'Neill, in his anger and astonishment, even called Ortega a "Marxist-Leninist Communist." But the biggest factor was relentless personal pressure from Reagan. Chalmers Wylie, a Republican waverer from Ohio, called him "a very persuasive fellow" (according to the *Congressional Quarterly*, Wylie has "trouble naming the countries of Central America"). "I thought I was talking to the Pope," O'Neill quoted a Democratic waverer, "I'm

Victoria Kann

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

so thrilled." Thus persuaded, the House accepted the $100 million in June; the Senate bought it as part of a package with South African sanctions in August. Lieutenant Colonel North had been funneling money to Central America since spring.

THIS, THEN, is the secret story behind Irandeal—the public record of political hesitations and debates. It offers a fair sample of congressional skill in foreign policy. Congress has been a full player in Central America from day one. It has set the sums of money to be spent, and specified who may spend them. It has required presidential reports and dictated presidential peace initiatives. It has voted vocally, and often. Two years of confusion, distraction, and witlessness is the result.

It would be wrong to make too much of the foibles of individual congressmen—Moynihan's grandstanding, Wylie's ignorance, de la Garza's talking to his Maker. Presidents have been accused of all three. But then, we have only one President at a time—as opposed to 535 representatives and senators. When the hundreds become equal partners with the one, the result is a policy that opposes Contra aid when Ronald Reagan walks by some dead totalitarians, but favors it when Daniel Ortega visits live ones; that balks at the public exposure of means to the ends it has willed, but rallies at phone calls from the Oval Office; that is determined by the vacillations of fifty people whose "moderation" is defined by their lack of conviction on the issue at hand, or their lack of interest.

Which is not to give the White House perfect marks. For it made a real, if lesser, contribution to the political confusion. Begin with the strategic puzzle, something the Administration seems not to have assembled even now. What are the Contras for? To bring the Sandinistas to the table? To bring them down? Are they enough (or are we doing enough else) for either purpose?

Whatever the Contras' purpose, supporting them was more of a policy than Congress had. But in pushing for its policy, the White House had to play ball with Congress, and, at times, its style of play mimicked Congress's own. The crucial point may have been April of 1985, when Reagan switched from requesting military to requesting non-military aid. The Senate leadership told him it was all he could get, and Sam Nunn, as if to prove it, went off the reservation the next day. But Reagan conceivably had an alternative: to go all out for what he wanted, risk getting nothing, and then hang the consequences around the necks of the faint-hearted in the next election. He might have lost; but in the event, he didn't get military aid for 18 months, and his party lost the election.

This is a counsel of perfection. It would have required telling someone like Oliver North to tell the Contras that, sorry, their aid was going to dry up while America duked it out politically.

Reagan's worst error has turned out to be over-delegation. When it became necessary to tide the Contras over, he ought to have known how it was done. Not every bank account or planeload; but enough to be able to say: I, as Commander-in-Chief, okayed this. To leave it to subordinates was to divide responsibility. That is Congress's problem; it shouldn't be the President's. The result has been to make a potentially criminal scandal out of what should have been a political and constitutional issue. If Reagan knew what was going on, the relevant question becomes, Was he protecting and defending the United States? If he didn't, it becomes, Is one of his subordinates some kind of crook?

The fight in Washington—over the issue, not the scandal—will go on. The Contras' strongest partisan, Ronald Reagan, has been hurt, and, on paper at least, the balance of power in the Senate has shifted marginally but decisively for the worse. Paradoxically, the two may cancel out: To the extent that Reagan seems less potent, the Democrats are more exposed, which may make their waverers more responsible.

The fight will also go on in Central America. When I asked a Central America specialist how he thought the Sandinistas would react, he said they already had. Their November 1986 incursion into Honduras was supposed to clean out the Contras. It didn't work—"the only thing that's balking them is that they're incompetent"—but they will be back. "They'll think, 'At worst, we won't succeed. But there will never be any serious penalty attached to our failure. So why not try again?' " □

What Ollie North Told Me Before He Took the Fifth

NEIL C. LIVINGSTONE

ON FRIDAY, November 14, 1986—the morning after President Reagan's first speech on the Iran affair—I had breakfast with Lieutenant Colonel Oliver "Ollie" North at the Hay-Adams Hotel. I did not realize at the time that the issue would soon be approaching the status of a national scandal. But this was before the disclosure by Attorney General Meese that some of the profits from the Iran arms transaction had been diverted to the Contras fighting the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua.

As a writer on terrorism and commentator for six years on the Reagan Administration's anti-terrorism policies, my breakfast was part of a regular ritual of meetings with senior Administration officials to get their perspectives on current developments and policies. My most recent book on terrorism, edited with Terrell Arnold, had carried an introduction by then National Security Advisor Robert C. "Bud" McFarlane.

As I told Colonel North, I was extremely disturbed by reports of an arms-for-hostages deal with Iran, long one of the chief terrorism-sponsoring states. In response to my concerns, Ollie walked me through the chain of events that led to the secret diplomacy with Iran. I was also shown copies of documents from the speaker of the Ira-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nian parliament, Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, purportedly delivered to President Reagan only the day before.

Because much of North's story is based on events and intelligence reports that I cannot independently verify, I can only report it as it was told to me. However, if true, his account provides a unique insight into the Administration's decisions with respect to Iran. In my judgment, nothing less than the potentially catastrophic confluence of events depicted to me would have compelled such hard-line anti-terrorists as John Poindexter, Bud McFarlane, and Ollie North to mute their long-standing hostility toward Iran for a risky alliance with so-called "moderate" Iranian leaders. What follows is, I believe, the true story behind the secret diplomacy with Iran, as told to me by Ollie North.

FOR THE PAST year and a half there has been a good deal of reportage in the West suggesting that Iran was on the verge of undertaking a "final offensive" against Iraq. The Iranians were prepared to throw everything they had at the Iraqis, confident that Saddam Hussein's armies would crumble under the assault. Not only did some Iranian military commanders suffer from an excess of religious zeal and a corresponding lack of appreciation of military realities, but it appears the Soviet Union influenced Iranian perceptions, leading Teheran to overestimate its own strength and underestimate that of the Iraqis. Far from being on the ropes, the Iraqis, who had been trading territory for staggering Iranian casualties for some time, had massive armor and aircraft reserves waiting to engage the Iranians once they had been drawn into the trap. Moreover, the Iraqis were prepared to make extensive use of chemical agents against the ill-equipped Iranians, who had, at best, one antiquated respirator for every dozen soldiers.

The Soviet plan for the Iranians was a replay of the Russian army's disastrous Tannenberg campaign during the First World War, in which the Russians undertook a "final offensive" to knock Germany out of the war. Instead, the Russians saw their own forces shattered in the ensuing debacle, with losses running ten times those of Germany. The Russians never recovered from the Tannenberg disaster; the seeds of the collapse of the Czar and the rise of the Bolsheviks were sown on the plains of East Prussia.

The Soviets had made extensive preparations to capitalize on the anticipated Iranian disaster, knowing that the Iraqis would be too weak to follow up their victory by driving into Iran. Soviet troops were massed near the border, in what U.S. intelligence at first mistakenly regarded as maneuvers associated with Afghanistan. This concentration of troops was coordinated with the insertion of Spetsnaz (special operations) forces into Iran and the introduction of as many as six hundred KGB operatives into Teheran.

Once the Iranian military was destroyed and the Revolutionary Guards were drawn out of Teheran, Moscow's Iranian allies would seize the government and, as in Afghanistan, request Soviet assistance to protect them from "imminent" Iraqi invasion. In the event the Soviet-backed proxies in Teheran failed, an alternative plan called for a Soviet-sponsored revolt in Azerbaijan, which would immediately call for recognition by and assistance from Moscow.

The key to the Soviet plan was Moscow's absolute belief that the U.S. was so estranged from Iran that it could not counter the Soviet gambit: There would be virtually no popular support in the United States for fighting the USSR over Iran, even if the U.S. had sufficient assets in the region—which it did not—to check the Soviet advance. The Soviet strategy was bold and, if successful, would have permanently altered the map of the world as Moscow extended its influence to the Persian Gulf, realizing a centuries-old dream.

What happened to stop the Russians? A number of American allies—Turkey, Japan, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Israel—had intimations of the unfolding catastrophe. One by one they undertook secret missions to the United States to plead with the Reagan Administration to do something. At first, Administration decision-makers were reluctant to get involved, both because U.S. intelligence did not initially confirm the gravity of the situation, and because the U.S. had little, if any, influence in Iran that could be brought to bear on the situation. But as Administration officials recognized the seriousness of the potential threat, they decided to make direct contact with one of the "moderate," or more correctly "pragmatic," factions in the Iranian government. U.S. intelligence estimates of the disaster that would befall Iran on the battlefield if it undertook its "final offensive" were given to the Iranians, predicting forty to fifty thousand dead and as many as a quarter of a million wounded. Additional intelligence on Soviet preparations to seize the government resulted in arrests and internal shifts of power that benefited the pragmatists.

AS THE RELATIONSHIP with Iranian pragmatists led by Rafsanjani developed, the U.S., acting in concert with Israel, transferred military hardware and spare parts to the Iranians, both as an expression of good will and to buttress Iran's sagging military might. Many of the TOW missiles, in fact, were positioned on the Soviet border, not deployed against Iraq. U.S.-Iran contacts continued, and the "final offensive" was indefinitely postponed as the pragmatists consolidated power, waiting only for the Ayatollah's demise before taking control of the government and purging his hand-picked successor, Ayatollah Hussein Ali Montazeri. During this period the pragmatists assisted the U.S. in pre-empting a number of terrorist attacks supported by Iranian hard-liners and were instrumental in the resolution of the TWA flight 847 hijacking. Rafsanjani personally intervened to secure the freedom of the last four hostages from the TWA flight.

Both sides perceived the issue of American hostages being held in Lebanon by Shiite extremists as a potentially

(Continues on page 67)

Mr. Livingstone, president of the Institute on Terrorism and Subnational Conflict, and adjunct professor at Georgetown University's National Security Studies Program, is an international consultant on terrorism and national-security affairs. He has published numerous articles and monographs on terrorism and foreign policy and two books: The War against Terrorism *and* Fighting Back: Winning the War against Terrorism *(with Terrell Arnold). His forthcoming book (with Dr. Joseph D. Douglas) is titled* America the Vulnerable: The Threat of Chemical and Biological Warfare.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHAT THE SOVIETS THINK ABOUT AMERICAN LIBERALS

A FEW DAYS AFTER the November 1986 election, Vladimir Gerasichev claimed to be a happy man. "I am very much encouraged," the correspondent for Moscow Radio and Television told this reporter. "There are senators like Kennedy, Pell, and Biden who now control important committees. It is going to be more difficult for the Administration to pursue its anti-Soviet cause."

Gerasichev said he was looking to the Democrats not just for new policies but also to help bring about a change of attitude in the country. "The whole atmosphere has turned to the right," Gerasichev complained about the last few years. "I am optimistic that the Democratic majority in the Senate will help to correct the disinformation that the Administration has encouraged—for example, the false idea of the Soviet military threat, and the idea that the United States has to spend more money on arms." He comments: "I don't expect the Administration to give up SDI. But maybe the liberals in the Senate will force him to cut back."

Gerasichev was not the only smiling Soviet journalist that week. Nikolai Setunsky, New York bureau chief of the Soviet news agency TASS, was equally exuberant. "The Republican platform [in 1980] explicitly called for military superiority," he recalled; by contrast, "The Democrats are characterized by common sense and an understanding of the dangers that face humanity and the limits of American power."

While Setunsky realized that "the Democrats are far from united—there are some fanatics like Senator Nunn," he also knew that "on the other hand you have Senator Kennedy, Senator Biden, and Representative Markey. So an influential element in the Democratic Party takes an intelligent view" of the Soviet Union. There are even some Republicans that Setunsky likes. "I have Senator Weicker in mind as an encouraging force in the Republican Party."

Iona Andronov, correspondent for the Soviet magazine *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, was cautiously optimistic about the recent Democratic gains. "The Democratic victory hopefully means that the Reagan policy is in decline." But Andronov had no illusions about the President's achievement. "Reagan has changed the mood of the country. I am not very optimistic about the Democrats' ability to change that very soon."

We see here hints of a remarkable new phenomenon—Soviet partisanship in American politics. It is, of course, difficult to know what to make of private statements by "correspondents" who aren't genuine journalists and may be playing a KGB disinformation game, but their praise of American liberals is consistent with a new rhetoric that pervades the Soviet press and Soviet propaganda, both at home and abroad, and has been taken up by top officials in the Kremlin, including General Secretary Gorbachev.

Until quite recently, Soviet propaganda was unequivocally hostile to all political groups and parties within the American mainstream. The party line was that liberals no less than conservatives were representatives of the bourgeois ruling class out to undermine Communist ideology and frustrate Soviet foreign and internal policy. A 1973 volume by Georgi Arbatov, director of the Institute for the U.S.A. and Canada, exemplified this tendency, with repeated denunciations of the "monopoly bourgeoisie," whom he termed "imperialist vultures" only content "as long as they hold the oppressed majority of society in leash."

©1987 Mal Ent. Inc.

QUOTING Edward R. Murrow, who, as director of the United States Information Agency, argued that dissent is permitted and even encouraged in the United States ("variety is our hallmark"), Arbatov retorted: "All these arguments are nothing more than an attempt to make a virtue out of modern capitalism's fundamental weakness." Soviet writer M. Zakhmatov condemned the Democratic Party's economic-aid program for the Third World, noting "the neocolonialist, mercenary nature of American foreign aid."

Even liberal arguments that were developed as an alternative to the anti-Communist policy of containment were denounced by the Soviets. "Propagandist jabber," said Arbatov of Zbigniew Brzezinski's defense of détente, which argued that détente would moderate Communism.

Beginning in the mid to late 1970s, however, Soviet rhetoric embraced the liberal wing of the American Democratic Party, which itself was moving away from the bi-partisan anti-Communism of most of the postwar period. With the gradual consolidation of the anti-war movement and its ideology within

Mr. D'Souza is managing editor of Policy Review. *His most recent book is* Catholic Classics.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Democratic Party, there was no reason for the Soviet Union to continue its undifferentiated animus toward the various camps in American politics. On the contrary, the new situation called for a new way of analyzing and reacting to the shifts in the Western milieu.

The Soviet press in the late 1970s and early 1980s records the surprise and puzzlement of Soviet commentators who noticed that even though most American liberals might not accept the Marxist vocabulary of Soviet policy, nevertheless they seemed to be adopting its content. On virtually every defense and foreign-policy issue —MX missile, B-1 bomber, neutron bomb, Pershing- and cruise-missile deployment, intervention in Grenada, aid to the Angolan rebels, aid to the Contras, a nuclear freeze, sanctions against South Africa, strategic defense—Soviet writers and policy-makers found that liberals in the United States held the same position that they did.

In 1977, the Soviet journal *New Times* gave a reserved endorsement to the policies of certain elements in the Carter Administration. "Sober views of American-Soviet relations have been voiced by such influential members of the Carter Administration as Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Secretary of Defense Harold Brown," *New Times* noted. Soviet propaganda has always quoted Western sources to confirm its ideological claims, typically wrenching their comments from context or distorting them altogether. But in the late 1970s, for the first time, Soviet propaganda began to develop a *pattern* of approval for the positions of a mainstream brand of American political thinking.

At the same time, Soviet propagandists began changing their own style to accommodate this shift. By 1980, for instance, Georgi Arbatov had transformed himself from Soviet Ideologue into Man Who Understands the Complex Realities of the Modern World. Terms like "bourgeois" and "imperialist" vanished from his vocabulary. His new book was full of buzzwords like "cold-war tensions," "heightened awareness," "two scorpions in a bottle," and "the madness of the arms race."

This rhetorical shift has been adopted at the highest levels of Soviet government. In his September 1985 interview with *Time*, Mikhail Gorbachev himself spoke of an "intensifying arms race," of the "sheer fantasy" of SDI, of the "highly complex" world we live in, of the "reality that whether we like one another or not, we can either survive or perish together." He could be a ghostwriter for Mary McGrory, whom he quoted in the interview.

In his November 21 press conference in Geneva, Gorbachev was at it again. "In present conditions it is not only a question of confrontation between the two social systems, but a choice between survival and mutual destruction. . . . We all feel deeply and are aware of the realities of today's world." He argued that the starting point for improved Soviet-U.S. relations was the "awareness that nuclear war is impermissible . . . and that there can be no winners in a nuclear war." "Of course, differences will remain between our countries. But it is necessary to ensure that they do not lead to military confrontation."

It is as if Soviet propagandists have realized that since Marxism has little appeal in the United States, it is more effective to adopt the arguments—even the clichés—of an established political group that shares essential Soviet positions and commands the assent of the majority of American elites. Soviet propaganda in the United States has come to reflect the rhetorical style of those whom the Soviets perceive as their new indigenous allies.

These epiphanies have not been restricted to the Soviet Union. The ABC television show *Nightline*, for example, now almost always conducts its debates on defense and foreign affairs between a spokesman for Reagan policy and a spokesman for the Soviet Union. Previously, it would have been a debate between a liberal and a conservative. The tacit assumption at *Nightline* now seems to be that considering the rhetorical and substantive overlap of liberal and Soviet positions, why have Arthur Schlesinger or Tom Wicker on the air when you can have Georgi Arbatov or Vladimir Posner?

Soviet rhetoric has a new face not just in the United States, but also within the Soviet Union. The Soviet press these days draws a sharp distinction between conservatism and liberalism, treating the two in markedly different ways.

The October 8, 1984, *Pravda*, in an analysis of neoconservatism, noted that it "nurtures blind hatred for revolutionary theory and practice," that it "attempts to anathematize godless Communism" and to "evaluate all the wealth of events in the world in terms of its own conception of good and evil," and that it is "blind, ignorant, unrealistic, and dangerous." Members of the bi-partisan Committee on the Present Danger were variously described in the September 2, 1986, *Pravda* as "tight-lipped," "self-satisfied," "sly," "cynical," "manipulative," "lacking basic honesty," and "practicing vivisection on their consciences."

By contrast, TASS on June 6, 1985, favorably cites Senator John Kerry (D., Mass.), who is "deeply worried" that strategic defense is going to "put in jeopardy the future of not only America but of the whole of human civilization." Kerry is unmoved by "the bogeyman of the Soviet threat," according to TASS.

Izvestiya on October 30, 1985, invokes "well-known observer" Leslie Gelb as holding that "Washington is not preparing in earnest for political dialogue at the Summit level." A bad omen, says *Izvestiya*: "Gelb is a respected journalist and probably things are just as he writes."

"The prominent U.S. historian Arthur Schlesinger" is quoted by TASS on November 5, 1985, as denouncing the invasion of Grenada. TASS finds Schlesinger making a strong case that the United States is "ignoring international laws and human morality."

Sovietologist Stephen Cohen of Princeton University is invoked by Moscow radio commentator Aleksandr Bovin on October 11, 1985, to prove that Western "intellectuals are frightened by the new atmosphere of cold war and political intolerance, particularly toward the Soviet Union."

Pravda, in covering the Reagan-Mondale debate on October 9, 1984, makes no secret of which side it supports. "Reagan did everything to sell his Administration's pro-monopoly, anti-popular course." Meanwhile, "Mondale rejected the Administration's absurd claim that the United States is 'more secure' than four years ago. 'Certainly Americans are not living better under the arms race?' 'Will they live better if we initiate "Star Wars"?' he asked, stressing that 'Americans want arms control.' "

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Izvestiya on September 18, 1986, throws up its hands about "people who have no experience of bloody wars" but who insist on "keeping mankind on death row" with their calls for U.S. defense increases. "What kind of new thinking is that?" *Izvestiya* wants to know. "Let us listen to what Senator J. Biden says," it goes on, with a long quote from Biden (D., Del.) blaming American "ideologues" for the arms race.

Pravda on December 22, 1985, pounded away at American immorality, topping off with the following: "Such are Washington's morals. Describing the atmosphere that prevails there, the U.S. journalist A. Lewis wrote: 'There has not been such a malicious atmosphere in our country for many years like that which Washington has experienced in the period of the House vote for the Contras. . . . Our President is . . . pursuing his aims without heed for common sense, humanity, or security.' "

The American authorities most frequently cited in Soviet propaganda to justify Soviet positions are disarmament advocate Paul Warnke, Gene LaRocque of the Center for Defense Information, and the editorial page of the *Boston Globe*. Other regulars include Carl Sagan, Gary Hart, Richard Barnet, Edward Markey, and Flora Lewis. A *Pravda* commentary on the futility of SDI cites "authoritative U.S. organizations" such as the Union of Concerned Scientists, the Federation of American Scientists, and the Brookings Institution.

But if Soviet writers are complimentary about American liberals in their writings for Soviet publications, they are positively effusive in person. I talked to several prominent Soviet spokesmen and writers. Our conversations revealed the full extent of their admiration for American liberalism's chief spokesmen and institutions, and the depth of their agreement with them.

Take Nikolai Setunsky of TASS. He denounces "right-wing nuts" in the Reagan Administration but is "very impressed by the work of public organizations that are trying to stop the Contras." On the issue of strategic defense, "I refer you to the outstanding work of the Union of Concerned Scientists."

One of the biggest misconceptions that Americans have of the Soviet Union, according to Setunsky, is the notion of the Soviet threat. Fortunately, he says, "Many Americans don't believe in the Soviet threat. Let me just mention George Kennan's books." He goes on to relate Kennan's credentials and long experience in the Soviet Union. "I would also cite Stephen Cohen of Princeton" to refute the idea of Soviet aggression, Setunsky says.

The news and opinion slant of the New York and Washington media does not go unnoticed by Setunsky. "The *Washington Times* publishes nothing but political pornography," he says. "I find *The Nation* and *The Progressive* to be insightful and objective accounts" of the world situation. Setunsky finds himself agreeing "on many, if not most, issues" with Tom Wicker and Anthony Lewis of the *New York Times*.

Setunsky introduces a novel twist to the old conservative charge that liberals parrot the Soviet line. Frequently, Setunsky says, it's the other way round—the Soviet Union takes up the liberal line. "For example, when we heard about the Vermont town meetings starting the nuclear-freeze idea, we found that a constructive and imaginative idea. . . . We are always willing to listen."

Vilius Kavaliauskas, a correspondent

(Continues on page 68)

"After 100 years it's time to bury socialism. The workers of the world have been deceived long enough."

Socialism:

The Grand Delusion

by Brian Crozier & Arthur Seldon

Taking this statement as their starting point, authors Crozier and Seldon strip to the bone both the socialist dream and the socialist reality. They ridicule the excuses socialists have to offer. They take advantage of every incautious socialist remark. Their barbed comments and pithy remarks clobber theory and practice alike. This is a spirited book that rings with truth and calls socialism's bluff! Order your copy today. Illustrated. CS4440 (paper)

$8.95

ORDER TOLL-FREE 1-800-238-2200 ext. 500

CHARGE YOUR VISA OR MASTERCARD
★ Continental U.S. ★
24 hours a day ★
7 days week

MONEY BACK GUARANTEE
If for any reason you are dissatisfied with this book, just return it within 30 days for a refund.

Send your order to:

LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS Dept. NBP
532 Broadway, New York, NY 10012

Please send me _____ copies of **Socialism: The Grand Delusion** (CS4440) for $8.95 each, plus $1.00 postage & handling per order ($2.00 UPS). NY State residents add appropriate sales tax.

☐ Send me your 32-page catalog of books on liberty.
☐ My check or money order is enclosed for $ _____
☐ Please bill my ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard

Card No. _____ Exp. Date _____
Signature _____
Name (Please Print) _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A REJOINDER FROM DMITRI NABOKOV

In his review [*NR*, Nov. 7] of Andrew Field's recent book on (or, rather, at) my father [Vladimir Nabokov], Jeffrey Meyers, who I am sure meant well, swallowed and regurgitated, quite indiscriminately, what is in fact an unscholarly, error-ridden, and viciously mendacious text, compounding matters by certain misreadings and exaggerations of his own.

A *Trib* column recently cited the view that it was better in the old days, when lying scoundrels could be dealt with by horsewhip rather than lawsuit. We can do neither with Field, since I don't relish jail and since Field waited for the subject of his libel to be safely dead, and unable to defend himself. I do plan to comment more fully on Field's book elsewhere. For now, I would simply like to point out the more blatant errors and slurs that Meyers, who evidently did not have the frame of reference required to evaluate Field, has taken at face value and sometimes amplified.

1. It is not correct, within the Russian historical context, to define the Kadet Party, of which my grandfather was one of the leaders, as "right-wing." The party was strongly anti-Bolshevik, yes, but committed to the establishment of a constitutional monarchy on the British model. There were groups that were much farther to the "right," if that is the correct term here (for their views reached fascist extremes that would have been repugnant to the very democratic American Right of the type that we adhere to).

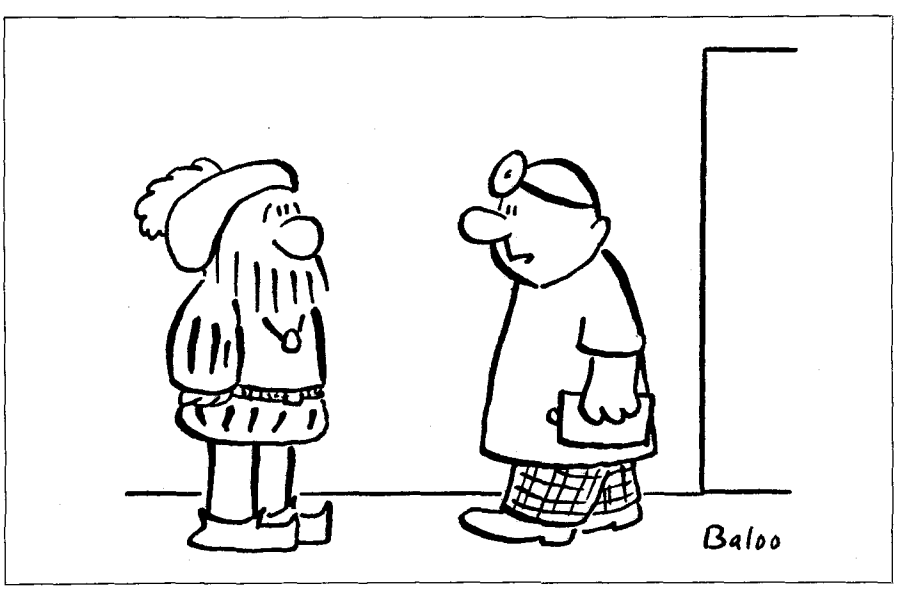
2. Father did have a homosexual uncle (something he certainly made no bones about), but the habitual public fondling, ardent or otherwise, which the reviewer underlines with gusto, is Field's fantasy.

3. Field's subject was not elusive at all; on the contrary, Nabokov made the serious mistake of taking Field into his confidence before the latter revealed his true colors. Father was open and, as always, funny and original during those interviews. Field, who has no humor and, apparently, a kind of Salierian resentment of Nabokov's brilliance, decided at a certain point that he was being "manipulated." He traveled many miles to consult individuals who often had little or no knowledge of Father's life, and sometimes a rusty axe to grind, in order to present a "balanced" (read: "vindictive") biography by according to their statements at least as much weight as to what he had been fortunate enough to obtain from the horse's mouth (he even reassures them, in a note, that the information obtained from *all* has been included!). One should also be aware that Field's previous attempt at a biography—*Nabokov: His Life in Part*—compiled during Father's lifetime, saw the light of day only after the vigorous intervention of our attorneys in order that blatantly inaccurate and sometimes libelous statements be deleted.

4. What Mr. Meyers considers "sound readings" are founded on a) Field's premise that an artist cannot invent but must perforce base his creations on actual occurrences, including those buried among remote roots of the family tree; and b) the bizarre notion that the key to Nabokov's life and art is an implausible—and quite unsubstantiated—narcissism. One perceives, in addition (if one has the fortitude to wade through Field's exceedingly dull texts), that these latest "readings" are nothing but rehashes from another previous Field book, while Nabokov's subsequent, fascinating novels are given short shrift indeed.

5. The implications of the "strange kind of kiss" that terminated an engagement of Nabokov's, which Field belabors and Meyers selects for scrutiny, are quite misleading, and come, by the way, from a particularly libelous source much used and seldom identified by Field.

6. The suggestion of Father's ingratitude for Edmund Wilson's help is equally false. Nabokov did help Wilson in whatever ways he could, which



"I'm afraid she's got pneumonia this time, Lord Godiva."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

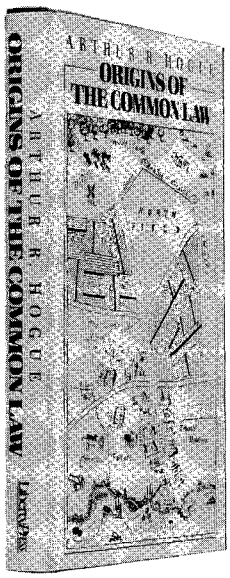
were pretty much limited to proposing joint translation projects and sharing his expertise in the niceties of Russian language and prosody, matters in which Wilson, notwithstanding his knowledge and talent in other fields, was very weak.

7. Another slur the reviewer cites with relish—that Nabokov "publicly expressed devotion to his wife, but had a number of serious love affairs"—originates largely from the same malevolent source and is an outright lie. Nabokov did have one brief skid while on a prolonged trip in the 1930s, which hardly qualifies as a serious love affair, and is certainly not much of a shocker. This episode (both the circumstances and the lady's name, incidentally, are incorrectly cited by Field) is the only one that might have represented a potential deviation from the great love and fidelity that characterized my parents' marriage of 52 years, had not Nabokov promptly told his wife about it and quickly terminated the acquaintance. Whom do Field and Meyers hope to titillate with this revelation? And their chivalry toward Nabokov's 85-year-old widow is, of course, exemplary.

8. The final canard selected for display by Meyers that deserves a good dose of buckshot is Field's theory about Father's "heavy drinking," a pure invention that Field utilizes to justify what, in his infinite wisdom, he judges to be an artistic decline (fictional biographies must, of course, have a dramatic dénouement). This particular lie is extrapolated *in toto* from a joke Father played during a television interview: He laced a teapotful of water with a bit of Scotch, sipped it frugally, and later shared the prank with the audience. Neither Mother nor I ever saw VN tipsy, and his alcoholic intake seldom exceeded an occasional glass of beer or wine. And the decline Field invents presumably encompasses such *petits riens* as *Ada*, *Transparent Things*, *Look at the Harlequins*, and *The Original of Laura*, which was interrupted by Nabokov's death and promised to be one of his most brilliant and original works (for the time being, my word will have to be taken for that).

It saddens me to think of the disinformation that threatens readers encouraged to plod through Field's ponderous opus by insufficiently knowledgeable reviewers. □

LibertyPress



ORIGINS OF THE COMMON LAW

By Arthur R. Hogue

First published in 1966 by Indiana University Press, Arthur R. Hogue's *Origins of the Common Law* looks at the deep medieval roots of our legal system during the early formative period of the common law. Between 1154 and 1307, from the reign of Henry II to that of Edward I, common law experienced a spectacular growth as a legal system enforced in the English Royal Courts. Paraphrasing Professor Hogue: in the form of writs, judicial decisions, treatises, royal ordinances, and parliamentary statutes, the common law, in large part the definition of established customs, emerged into explicit written form and formal procedure to order better such ordinary relationships among Englishmen as those between landlord and tenant, merchant and money lender, and buyer and seller.

In his final chapter, "From Medieval Law to Modern Law," Hogue concludes, "The rule of law, the development of law by means of judicial precedents, the use of the jury to determine the material facts of a case, and the definition of numerous causes of action—these form the principal and valuable legacy of the medieval law to the modern law." And one might add, to the growth of the concept of liberty as well.

This thoughtful, lucid account is a work of history, not a technical legal treatise, and should be of interest to the general reader and the specialist alike.

Hardcover $10.00 ISBN 0-86597-053-X
Paperback $ 4.50 ISBN 0-86597-054-8

Prepayment is required on all orders not for resale. We pay book rate postage on prepaid orders. Please allow 4 to 6 weeks for delivery. *All* orders from outside the United States *must* be prepaid *in U.S. dollars*. To order, or for a copy of our catalogue, write:
Liberty*Press*/Liberty*Classics*
7440 North Shadeland, Dept. S116
Indianapolis, IN 46250

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MACMILLAN REMEMBERED

This is not an attempt to evaluate Macmillan's career—that will, of course, be the function of the official biography—but simply a personal recollection of him in his last years. As it is largely based on "table talk," little or none of this article will in fact appear in the biography. —AH

WHEN FIRST INVITED to write the official life of Harold Macmillan, I was, quite simply, dumbfounded. I had never done a biography, and felt I had no particular qualifications for this one. But, where most biographers have to work posthumously, the opportunity to write the life of a great contemporary—while, at the same time, having access to a remarkable living memory—was unique, and not lightly to be refused. Only one major condition was imposed, by the subject: The book was not to appear in his lifetime, a condition designed to rid us both of all inhibitions.

It was agreed that we should "go and look at each other." So, on a mellow October day in 1978, we strolled round and round the Birch Grove gardens, laid out by Harold Macmillan's redoubtable American mother, Nellie. Then rising 85, immensely spry—although walking (because of his First World War wounds) with what a former colleague described as his "soft-shoe shuffle"—he seemed almost as diffident as I was. I remember confessing that I wasn't even sure I was a good Tory, and he stopped and put his hand on my arm: "Nor was I, dear boy!" After that icebreaker, we went into the house and there began seven of the most rewarding (though testing) years of my life. I like to think that perhaps my visits contributed something to the rather lonely life of an ex-PM who had long outlived his contemporaries and—in many ways—his world: a world that spanned Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee and the nuclear age.

We would work—often three days at a stretch—recording on tape the life of "this strange, very buttoned-up person," as he liked to describe himself; probing into the many corners left uncovered by his own copious but impersonal six-volume *Memoirs*—Suez, the Cuban Missile Crisis, Profumo, but most of all his own life. Despite the showman exterior, acquired over the years, he was by nature private and deeply reluctant to talk about anything bordering on the personal. He once claimed that one of the principal aims of his *Memoirs* had been "to keep myself out of it." I told him he had done a good job; my hardest task was always to drag him out of his own corner, to winkle the ever wily politician out of the protective shell. To neighbors he would introduce me as "a cross between Boswell and Torquemada."

The best was the "table talk," at meals, or late in the evening. He was the total owl, and could keep any audience up till two in the morning with random marginalia, witty anecdotes on contemporaries, and acute commentaries on the day's happenings interlaced with the great sweeps of historical analogy. He was, I suppose, the greatest survivor of the great conversationalists of a bygone era.

Out of curiosity, I once listed some two dozen topics of conversation covered in the course of an evening. They included: The origin of the Guards' tall bearskins—should these have been worn instead of steel helmets in World War I, given that riflemen always aim high? Hardy versus Kipling as stylists. The Victorian Empire-builders and sexual repression. Lord Nuffield and British Leyland. Decadence in Hellenistic literature. The collapse of the First Roman Republic. The anopheles mosquito in sixth-century Italy. The explicitness of sex in the modern novel —*Vanity Fair* (a great favorite) versus *Lady Chatterley*: Would *Jude the Obscure* be considered shocking now? Contemporary Latin pronunciation at Oxford ("The way I was taught," he would say, "always made me think the Romans spoke Latin with an English accent, and were rather serious people; now, with this new pronunciation, you suddenly realize they were all just excitable Italians"). Problems of publishing in Nigeria, and copyright in the USSR. The Church and the new "Ayatollah" (as he liked to call him) of Canterbury. Reminiscences of old London ("Did you know that M. and Co.'s present office sits on the site whence Essex launched his revolt against Elizabeth I?"). And finally, with much hilarity and numerous examples, the difference between a "cad" and a "bounder": "In war," as he explained it, "a bounder is a chap who goes to the front, wins the VC, then seduces his colonel's wife; but a cad seduces his colonel's wife, and never goes to the front. Women can be cads though, curiously enough, I don't think ever bounders—have you ever known a female bounder?"

BUILT IN THE 1920s, when publishing prospered, Birch Grove—five hundred feet up in the Sussex woods—was a great barrack of a house, of which much seemed to be kitchen. Beyond the innate sadness of an empty home that once rang with the voices of children, long since grown up and gone, it never struck me as a happy place. It was full of ghosts. Back in the vast kitchen areas there were the old-fashioned bells, still marked "Mrs. Macmillan" (his mother); "Mr. Arthur" (brother); "Mr. Harold"; "Lady Dorothy's sitting room"; "Master Maurice, day nursery." There were the memorabilia of visits of the

Mr. Horne, the renowned British historian, is completing the official biography of Harold Macmillan.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

great, all long dead: of Churchill, de Gaulle, Kennedy, Nkrumah. In the library, there was the rocking chair that had been bought specially for JFK during his stay just five months before the assassination.

On the wall of the tiny sitting/dining room in which we often talked—Macmillan's famous "fortress"—were prints of Bad Godesberg (although he was never really able to bring himself to like the Germans, at whose hands he had received the five wounds whose scars he bore), presented respectively by Adenauer and Willy Brandt. Lunch consisted—winter or summer—of cold ham, undressed salad, and cheese; with an occasional special treat of "plum pie just for you, dear boy, as you never get enough to eat here!"

THE FRUGALITY of his life always struck me as being incongruous for an ex-Prime Minister, as well as an affluent publisher. Yet he obviously felt it in keeping with the spartan background of the family; added to an exaggerated conviction of personal impoverishment not untypical of his age—"rags to riches, and back again, in four generations, that'll be our story."

Comment on his famous contemporaries would be marvelously vivid, often acid, but almost always coming down on the side of charity. When I once asked why he kept out of his published *Memoirs* (greatly to their loss, and in marked contrast with later political diarists) the more barbed remarks of the unpublished diaries he kept (e.g., when referring to one of his senior ministers: "I can't decide whether D____ is morose or just plain dull"), he would reply that such remarks made in the irritation of the moment never represented a considered view. And he would add as an afterthought, "Also, I wasn't a publisher for nothing: Libel's expensive!"

Although they were temperamentally poles apart and had a certain mutual antipathy dating back to the Thirties, he was always outwardly loyal about Anthony Eden—perhaps excessively so—over the explosive issue of Suez. But—in private—it was clear he thought Eden should never have been PM: "Charming, good company, a marvelous negotiator—would have made a perfect head of the Foreign Office—but never contributed any ideas . . . Winston thought Anthony would wreck it, that's basically why he held on so long." Of Harold Wilson, he would remark jocularly (and not without a certain respect) that "no PM had got away with so much since Walpole!" Yet I never heard him say many harsh words about his old adversary. Wilson was a "kind man," brought down "by third-rate people." Macmillan admired his virtuosity in the House, though "he used too many epigrams . . . like listening to Bob Hope."

In contrast, he despised the incorruptible Gaitskell as being politically inept. "Whenever a big wound developed in the Labour Party, Gaitskell—most obligingly—would go and put a tourniquet below it." Back in June 1979 he told me he had offered Mrs. Thatcher what turned out to be prophetic advice: "Leave the Right and the Left of the Labour Party to fight it out." When the SDP hove into sight, I asked him teasingly if he wasn't going to join, insofar as it seemed exactly the kind of "Center Party" he had been advocating in the Thirties. "Certainly not," he snorted. "It's just the same old Labour Party of 1945—same old Socialist principles, even the same old faces!"

A certain raffishness appealed to one side of his character more than the solider virtues. Adenauer and Diefenbaker he considered "bores" (the most damning word in his vocabulary); he found the Presbyterian moralizing of Dulles tedious, while—despite his early enthusiasm for the New Deal—he mistrusted Roosevelt from their first meeting at Casablanca in 1943.

For Kennedy—as is well known—he developed a deep personal affection, and with him re-established the "Special Relationship" on a level that has never existed before or since, not even in the halcyon days of Churchill and Roosevelt. This was perhaps in part a testimony to his unique talent at bridging the generation gap, which I had so often experienced with him. Yet he was not beyond excoriating JFK for "spending half his time thinking about adultery, the other half about second-hand ideas passed on by his advisors."

Though his enthusiasm for her policies waned as unemployment soared, he held Margaret Thatcher in high personal regard. He had, of course, been flattered that, before her election, she should come frequently to consult him and that afterward (unknown to the press) he would be invited to Chequers for quiet weekends *à trois*. (During the Falklands war of 1982, she also quizzed her 88-year-old predecessor on how to set up a War Cabinet—and took the advice he gave her.) There was, too, the affinity in the origins of the grocer's daughter and the crofter's grandson. He admired her capacity for hard work, while expressing fears that she would overdo it and "blow up," and it worried him that there was "no relaxation at Chequers—no books, you know." In general he referred to her as "that intelligent and courageous young woman," and it was this last quality—something he had plenty of himself—that was to him perhaps the most important in a person.

Churchill, of course, he regarded with total devotion and affection, going back to their first association in the Twenties, but tinged also with a certain detached amusement. One of his favorite Churchill anecdotes was at the expense of Mountbatten (for whom he had ambivalent feelings: respect for his professionalism, dislike of his showmanship): At a lunch given for Churchill in his dotage, Mountbatten had held forth through all three courses, while the ex-PM sat slumped in evident displeasure; then, as the guests left, Churchill said repeatedly, in a highly audible voice, "Who *ish* that fellow? Should I know him?" with a broad wink to Macmillan.

COURAGE, WHICH Macmillan so much admired in others, in him on occasions amounted almost to recklessness. It remains a mystery why he was never awarded at least one decoration in the First War; in the Second World War, in 1943, aged fifty, he pressed to be dropped with an airborne division north of Rome—a daring operation that, had it been carried out, would almost certainly have ended as a pre-run of Arnhem, and just as disastrously. The following year, he positively reveled in being besieged in the British Embassy in Athens, under fire from Communist insurgents.

A few days after the murder of Mountbatten, I made one of my visits to Birch Grove. On the table by his armchair was a new white bell button: "Don't touch it, dear boy, I'm only to ring after I've been blown up, and then

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the police will come in ten minutes—isn't that thoughtful of them?" The police had also asked him to give up his ritualistic postprandial snooze in an isolated summer house, but one sunny day he insisted on going out to it. Waving aside my remonstrances, he said with a mischievous chuckle, "If you hear a big bang, that'll mean you can publish your book!"

Reading was one of his chief solaces when in office: "Peace, peace within yourself," he once remarked, "that you can only get from books." He was almost certainly the best-read British prime minister in living memory. As an instinctive Whig, he was addicted to Trollope, and during the Suez crisis—so he confided to me—he had re-read the whole of George Eliot: "It was the only thing that kept me from going barmy . . . I didn't mention this in the *Memoirs*, because I felt readers might have thought the chancellor should have been better employed." After I had grilled him for three days on end over Suez (during which I discovered how much more central, and controversial, his role had been than the records have hitherto revealed), he remarked with relief, "Now I'm going back to *David Copperfield*!" Even more than *Copperfield*, *Anna Karenina* was a favorite that he re-read almost yearly; yet old delights never closed his mind to new experiences. After his first trip to China ("as a publisher, not an ex-PM") in 1979, he told me, almost bubbling over with excitement, that adventures of the trip were nearly eclipsed by discovery of a "new novel." It turned out to be *For Whom the Bell Tolls*; "quite wonderful, like one of Scott's early novels . . . I can't think why I never read it before."

Like his father and uncle before him, he also maintained an active interest in the publishing of "M. and Co.," making weekly visits to the Little Essex Street office right to the end of his life. He loved reminiscing about the great authors whom he had published in the past and their idiosyncrasies—Hardy, Kipling, Yeats, Sean O'Casey—and in his eighties he took to traveling indefatigably "on company business": Nigeria, India, Hong Kong, and China in the late Seventies; the U.S.A. in 1980.

At the Great Wall he had shown signs of flagging, and his hosts thoughtfully offered him a wheelchair; he enjoyed relating how he had completely stumped the Chinese interpreter with the indignant reply: "I'd much rather have a brandy and soda." Visiting America the following year to promote the new edition of *Grove's Musical Dictionary* (at £850 a set), he managed a lunch and dinner speaking engagement almost every day for ten days with an occasional television appearance in between. His performances brought forth ecstatic comment in the New York and Washington press, grown unaccustomed to the mandarin style of statecraft. When he spoke to a distinguished gathering at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington, I was able to act as his host; he telephoned nervously to inquire beforehand, "Will all those eggheads be friendly to me?" and seemed genuinely surprised when he brought the house down.

Of all his interests in retirement, none gave him greater pleasure than his chancellorship of Oxford, for which he had entered the lists in a hotly disputed election in 1960 while he was still Prime Minister, much in the *condottiere* spirit that had prompted him to volunteer to drop behind Rome in 1943. Indeed probably no other chancellor took so great an interest, or knew so much about Oxford's most parochial affairs. At Birch Grove the files on Oxford filled a whole cabinet; there were few university occasions he would miss, and he made a point of gracing the least "smart" colleges and the more obscure institutions.

He left a strong imprint on the university, but there were also more things he would have liked to see changed: "My final ambition, I'd like to have a go at moving finals to February—so as to enjoy May. Much more civilized. And I'd like Oxbridge to return to the classical tradition, leaving science to a later, technical school . . ." When, in 1981, some Oxford Young Turks suggested it might be time for the 87-year-old chancellor to retire, he riposted, "I told them I'd only give way to a wiser and older man!"

One of the least-known episodes in his life, and one about which he was always most reticent, was his near conversion to Roman Catholicism at the beginning of World War I. His great friend and mentor, Ronald Knox, did "pope," but Macmillan jibbed at the last fence. (On the ironies of fate, he once speculated to me: "If things had been otherwise, I suppose it not impossible that Ronnie might have become Prime Minister—and I should have been Monsignor Macmillan!")

Nevertheless, the influence of Knox was considerable, and throughout his life, as a devout churchgoer, he leaned toward Anglo-Catholicism rather than to the Church of Scotland into which the Macmillans had been born. One of the outstanding characteristics of Harold Macmillan was his spiritual fortitude, in which was perhaps combined elements of both sects. In the last years, he ate hardly enough to keep alive, and his body became so frail that survival seemed a constant, miraculous triumph of mind over matter. He struggled victorious through serious illnesses; in 1981 he was stricken with a bad attack of shingles, which can carry off younger and tougher men. It was, he said, more painful than his pelvis wound on the Somme. But somehow it was faith that brought him through—as it did through all the adversities of old age, the pain of old wounds, the loss of a wife, of family and colleagues, the loneliness. When in New York in 1980, he remarked to William F. Buckley Jr., "If you don't believe in God, all you have to believe in is decency . . . decency is very good. Better decent than indecent. But I don't think it's enough." He fundamentally believed in both God and decency. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

These are the faces of change. See how they changed the face of America on "The Conservatives."

A 90-minute special on PBS
Check your local listings for date and time.

From beginning to end, "The Conservatives" reveals a compelling and sometimes chilling tale of the people who founded and dedicated their lives to the conservative movement.

As plots, counterplots, campaigns and tragedies unfold, you will become intrigued by the strategy, the intellectual leaps, and the personal risks the conservatives took to turn their failures into success.

Through historical footage and candid testimonies from William F. Buckley, Jr., Jeane Kirkpatrick, Barry Goldwater, Ronald Reagan, Clare Boothe Luce and others, see how the conservatives changed the face of America.

Watch "The Conservatives" on PBS.

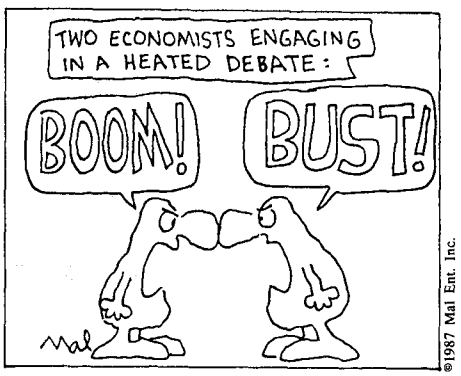
THE CONSERVATIVES

TV Worth Watching

Produced by
Blackwell
The Blackwell Corporation
Washington, D.C.

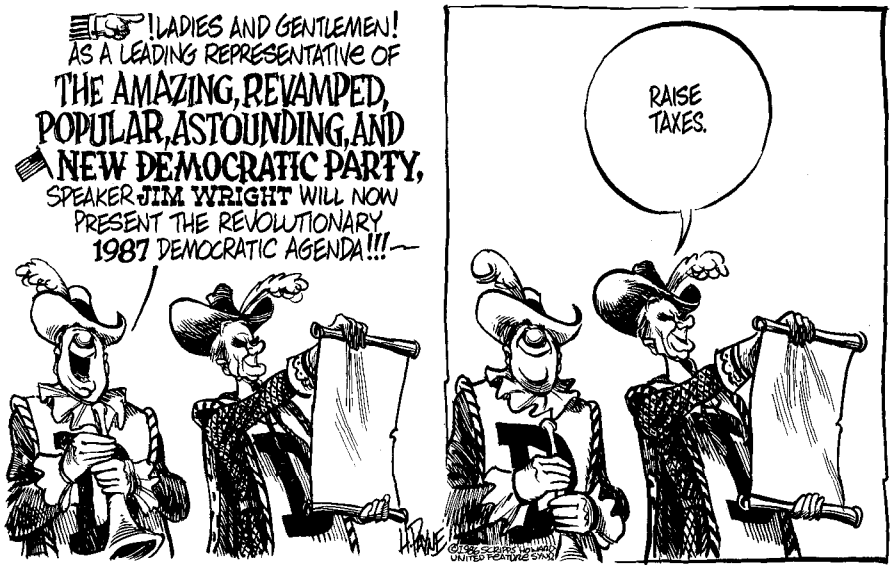
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

help !!!!



AFTER A RELAXING VACATION CLEARING BRUSH AT THE RANCH...

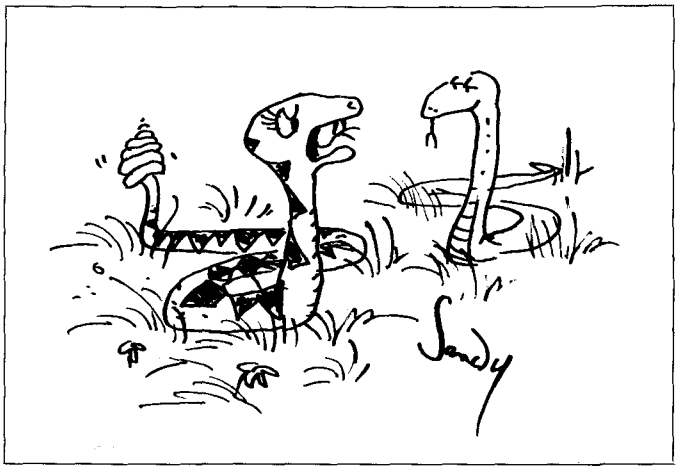
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


LADIES AND GENTLEMEN! AS A LEADING REPRESENTATIVE OF THE AMAZING, REVAMPED, POPULAR, ASTOUNDING, AND NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY, SPEAKER JIM WRIGHT WILL NOW PRESENT THE REVOLUTIONARY 1987 DEMOCRATIC AGENDA!!!
RAISE TAXES.

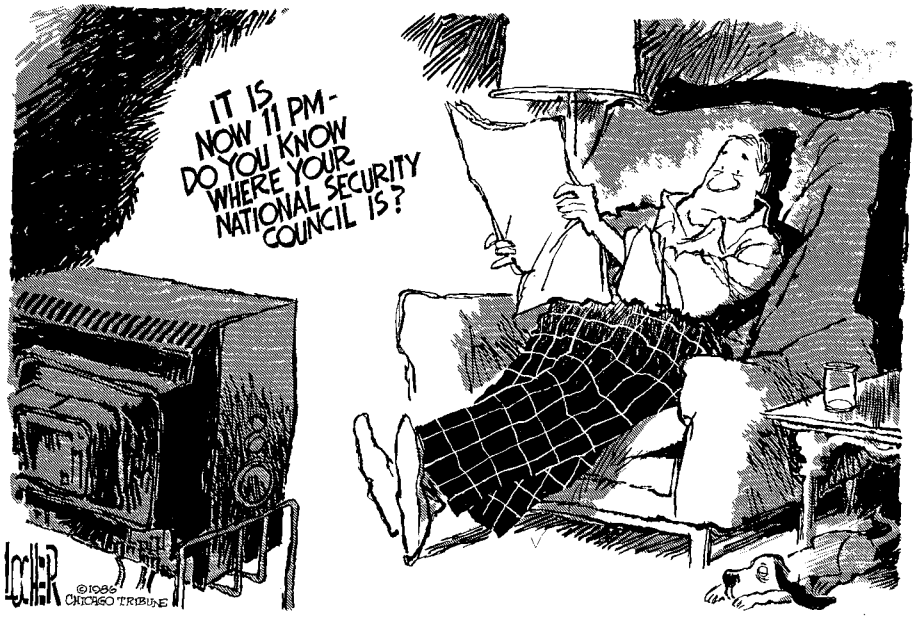
As Time Flows By

For slowness we cite the proverbial snail,
On which, it would seem, rides United States mail.
At banks, movies, sports, shows, and places to dine,
We stand, while time ticks, on a slow-moving line.
We wait for an item we bought at a store
To (maybe) arrive in six weeks, sometimes more.
But nothing we wait for is ever so slow
As publishers putting off letting us know
The fate of a manuscript: Is it "Accept"
Or what we so hope it would not be, "Reject"?
They're busy, of course, with best-sellers on sex,
But must they make writers at large nervous wrecks?

CORINNA MARSH



"I'm not *elderly. I'm* supposed *to rattle."*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ANTI-'FASCISM'

A VIGOROUS DEBATE is going on in Germany about a monument to the victims of "Fascism" to be erected in Hamburg by the noted Austrian sculptor Alfred Hrdlička. In point of fact, Fascism, a purely Italian movement, had no German victims. What the city elders of Hamburg and the sculptor have in mind are the victims of National Socialism, a term that is absolutely taboo in leftist circles.

To be sure, during the two years that the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact was in effect, the Soviet press loyally spoke of "National Socialism"; but after the Germans invaded the USSR in June 1941, the Soviets started referring to their German counterparts as "Hitlerites" (*Gitlerovtsy*). When it came to the Nuremberg trials, a difficulty arose over what the defendants should be called. The Soviets proposed *fashisty*, but the Western Allies wanted to stick to "National Socialists." The solution was found in the folksy term *Nazi*, which they themselves had used (a book by Goebbels, a sort of catechism, is entitled *Der Nazi-Sozi*). Meanwhile, to please the democrats on the Allied side, who could not bring themselves to admit that National Socialism was a broad, popular mass movement, the trial was officially directed against the "Nazi conspiracy." But once the trial was over, and the Soviets were no longer constrained by the sensibilities of their recent allies, they reverted to using the official label "fascist" for every movement, ideology, political notion, and conviction that did not meet with their approval.

For anyone who does not have the Soviets' interests at heart, however, there is no reason whatsoever to call National Socialism "fascist." German National Socialism anteceded Mussolini's *fascismo*, and its roots are Bohemian, not Italian. It goes back to the Czech National Socialist Party, founded in 1896 by nationalistic dissidents from the Czech Socialist Party. In 1903 they were copied by Germans from Bohemia and Moravia, who created the German Workers' Party. At a big meeting in Vienna in May 1918, this party changed its name to the "German National Socialist Workers' Party" (DNSAP) and expounded a distinctly leftist program.

Hitler was then still at the Western Front, but the DNSAP had a rich literature—which can be found in the Hoover Institution—adorned with the swastika. The program was anti-Habsburg, anti-aristocratic, anti-clerical, and anti-capitalist (among other things, it demanded the democratic control of "peoples' banks"). In addition, it was anti-Jewish. Since Marx himself was a fanatical Jew-baiter, and anti-Semitism always figured in the Socialist parties' programs (as proved by the magisterial work of Edmund Silberner), there is thus very little difference between the International Socialist and the National Socialist program. (Naïve observers have claimed that the Third Reich was capitalist. In fact, "capitalists" in the Third Reich had the same function as the "patriotic capitalists" in Mao's China: They were mere administrators in a planned economy, impotent to carry out any independent action.) In his speech after the *Anschluss* in April 1938, the new National Socialist mayor of Vienna, Party Comrade Neubacher, told the Socialist Party leaders that National Socialism was, indeed, genuine Socialism.

The taboo on the term "National Socialist" has been methodically obeyed by the Left everywhere. Two years ago I received a long letter from a German institute for the research of contemporary history, asking me to inform them of my "anti-fascist" activities in America during World War II. I replied that I had been too busy studying other totalitarian movements to spend much time concentrating on Italian matters. (Of course, I knew very well what they meant). Italian Fascism was, after all, a purely local affair, its problems bothering nobody outside Italy. Only after that doubtful, well-dressed genius Anthony Eden had driven Mussolini into Hitler's arms did the *Duce*'s intellectual and moral decline truly begin. The murder of Matteotti was foul (still, the murderers had to stand trial), but I know of no "anti-fascists" (except terrorists) executed by the *Duce* prior to 1939. Between 1922 and 1939 far more people were put to death in the United States than in Italy, both absolutely and relatively. Imprisonments and confinements did take place, but even the diaries of the Communist Antonio Gramsci (written in jail) do not mention inordinate severity. Hannah Arendt, who has studied this subject, tells us that in the majority of political trials, the accused were acquitted—something unheard of in either National Socialist Germany or the USSR. Without the rise of Hitler, Italian Fascism would have remained an insignificant chapter in world history.

HOW GENERALLY is all this known? The latest edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* that I have seen has no entry for "National Socialism." After much looking, I finally discovered one for the "Nazi Party." I thereupon wrote a postcard to the editors suggesting that, following that pattern, they should not have articles on Communism and Socialism but, rather, on the "Bolshie Party" and, as the Viennese say, the "Sozi Party."

The quarrel about Nazism versus Fascism is by no means merely a semantic question. The past is always with us, whereas the present is but the dividing line between past and future. Two statements by Confucius should be kept in mind: "Study the past and you will know the future"; and, "State and society perish if the meaning of words is distorted." □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We have only a rough idea of what a new subscriber should look like . . .

. . . but you know exactly what they look like, don't you?

If you're enjoying this issue, surely you know others who would also enjoy it? For years, we've realized that our best *new* readers are people you know—friends, relatives (don't forget the students you care about!). And your recommendation is the best introduction we could hope for.

You would be doing us a great favor if you would use the card facing this page to urge somebody you know to subscribe now, during these historic days of the Second Reagan Era (when NR's unique coverage is at its *best*). Tell him (or her, of course) it's a bargain at the prices listed, and (you know) "act now," etc., etc. Or, if you prefer, use the card to send an introductory gift subscription to somebody now—NR makes a thoughtful (even flattering) gift, and your generous action could start a long-term relationship.

As soon as we receive the card, we'll start sending *National Review* without delay—we don't want anybody to miss a single issue at a time like this. So use it today, won't you? You'll be glad you did (and so will *we*). And many thanks for the help.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

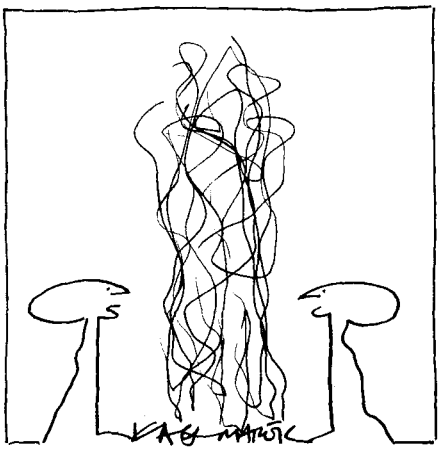
SOCIALISM AS THE TEFLON DREAM

NOBODY SO FAR has challenged the facts in Peter Berger's *The Capitalist Revolution: Fifty Propositions about Prosperity, Equality, and Liberty* (Basic). Using detailed evidence from around the world, Berger argues convincingly that capitalism is marvelous for prosperity, as good as or better than anything else for equality, and probably essential for liberty. Socialism, he demonstrates, is just the opposite. Yet socialists who have reviewed the book claim Berger has not laid a glove on them.

The reason is simple, they say: "He is not talking about my kind of socialism." Berger may have the facts right about all the failed socialisms and "pseudo-socialisms" of past and present, but *their* version of socialism has yet to be tried. A defender of democratic capitalism, recognizing the many failures of democratic-capitalist societies, might respond by saying that *his* version of democratic capitalism has yet to be tried. It is hard to get very far with that kind of claim. Such an elusive socialism or capitalism is not empirically testable; claims for it are not falsifiable and therefore are not amenable to rational examination. A noted American socialist recently wrote about the accumulating evidence that every socialist experiment so far has turned out to be more or less disastrous—economically, politically, and morally. But this does not mean that one should stop being a socialist. On the contrary, he writes, for "Socialism is the name of our dream."

Given this incommensurability between empirical testing, on the one hand, and dreaming, on the other, one may wonder what is going to happen to the socialism-versus-capitalism debate, or whether it has a future. People such as Berger and Michael Novak (and Schumpeter, Hayek, et al. before them) historically specify what they mean by capitalism and then take their chances with pertinent empirical probings. Those who call themselves socialists should have the nerve to play by the same rules. Anti-capitalists who do not want to be called socialists should put a name of their choice to what they are arguing for and indicate the historical-empirical facts pertinent to its testing. At present, anti-capitalist arguments typically follow a *via negativa*: It is not this, it is not that, I may not even be able to articulate my dream, but it is better than what is. We should all be in favor of what is better than what is, and I would be the last person to deprecate the importance of dreaming in human affairs, but poor people cannot eat the dreams of their ideological mentors.

Capitalism is not a dream, and that may be among its weaknesses. I, for one, am not in love with capitalism. I don't see how any sensible person could be. Socialism is a vision of great mythopoetic force that holds many in its thrall. But my attachment to capitalism is a second- or third-order attachment. Capitalism is good for democracy, and I do love democracy. That is because democracy protects the ordering of our loves and loyalties in freedom, including the most important of freedoms, which is freedom of religion. Of course people have lived in freedom in the past without democracy. But in our historical moment there is no country in the world where religious freedom and the freedoms that derive from religious freedom are relatively secure that is not democratic or aspiring to become democratic.



"Call me when you get it together."

By democracy I mean of course *liberal* democracy, not people's democracy, or mass democracy, or raw majoritarianism. I mean limited government, checks and balances, legally institutionalized protections, republican polity. I mean something like, say, the United States of America.

SO THE ORDERING goes like this: Freedom is the highest good in the ordering of society; the political correlate of freedom is democracy; the economic correlate of democracy is capitalism. The evidence, and the logic, suggest that there is a necessary relationship among the three. Of course we can speculate about "delinking" them, as our socialist-democrat and democratic-socialist friends keep urging upon us. But considering all the activities both intimate and public subsumed under the rubric of "economics," it is hard to see how denial of freedom in this sphere can be consonant with maintaining freedom in our political, personal, and ultimate relationships. However, we do not need to speculate. As Berger shows, there is no historical specimen of a socialist society that is also democratic. (And, yes, he takes full account of such marginal cases as Sweden and Yugoslavia.)

If you think the case is settled, you are wrong. The argumentation will go on, for on the other side is poetry, and poetry is exempt from trial by evidence. The truth of eschatological visions can be settled only by the arrival of the eschaton. Meanwhile, millions will continue to be denied prosperity, equality, and liberty because of a Teflon dream. □

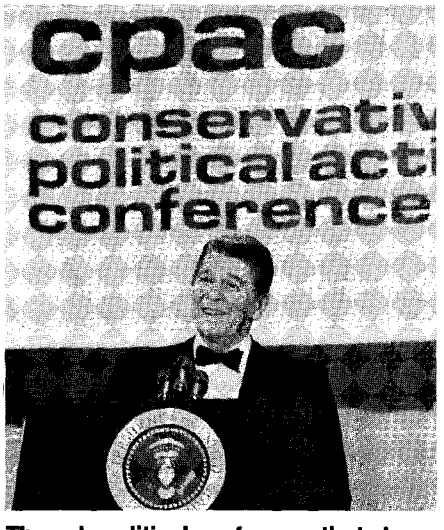
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

February 19-21, 1987
The Washington Hilton Hotel
Washington, D.C.

cpac 87

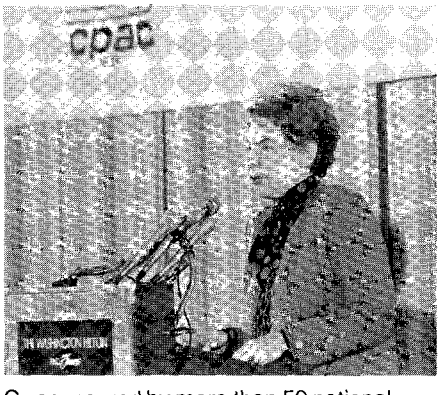
THE 14TH ANNUAL CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL ACTION CONFERENCE

Conservative Power For '88!



The only political conference that gives Conservatives the chance to shape national policies before election year '88 gets underway.

It will assemble all of the key Conservative luminaries, from our President on down, to give you straight talk on the issues facing our nation in the crucial year ahead.



Co-sponsored by more than 50 national conservative organizations, the '87 Convention is *the* "movement" event of the year, and one that no Conservative can chance missing.

You have worked hard for Conservative prestige and power. Be there to take the credit and share in the future.

It's *your* Convention, and it's our plan to make it the best and most fruitful one for you in our fourteen-year history.

☑ REGISTER TODAY!

CONFERENCE FACTS:

- Steady upward attendance growth for 14 years;
- Co-Sponsors climbed from 8 in 1978 to a record 54 in 1986, and still growing;
- From a handful of "old-timers" 14 years ago, to *the* main conservative political event of the year;
- Those who attend once come back again —and again.

If you have a favorite Conservative leader, you can count on meeting him/her at CPAC '87!

CPAC '87 Registration

Send to: **CPAC '87**
1127 King Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314
(703) 739-2550

☐ **YES!** I wish to register for the following. . .

Indicate Number

____ **CPAC Registration Only:** (includes 3 meals & 2 receptions) ***Early Bird Special:* $120** per person. After Jan. 31, 1987, **$125** per person $____.

____ **CPAC Registration & Salute to President Reagan Banquet:** ***Early Bird Special:*** **$270** per person. After Jan. 31, 1987, **$300** per person. $____.

____ **Salute to President Reagan Banquet Only:** ***Early Bird Special:*** **$160** per person. After Jan. 31, 1987, **$175** per person. $____.

____ **No Meals Registration: $40** per person. After Jan. 31, 1987, **$50** per person. $____.

(Please Print or Type) NR

Name:_____ Phone ( ) _____

Address: _____

City:_____ State:_____ Zip:_____

Charge my ☐ VISA ☐ Mastercard # _____ Exp. Date._____

Name on Credit Card _____ Total Charge $ _____

Make Checks Payable to **CPAC '87** Total Enclosed $ _____

CPAC '87 Hotel Registration

Send to: **The Washington Hilton Hotel**
1919 Connecticut Ave. at Columbia Road, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
(202) 483-3000
Or: 800-HILTONS

Special CPAC Room Rate: (check desired rate)

☐ Single Room: $87.00 ☐ Double Room $97.00
These rates do not include D.C. sales tax and occupancy tax.
(To ensure room availability, please send before January 20, 1987)

(Please Print or Type)

Name: _____

Address: _____

City:_____ State:_____ Zip_____

Arrival Date:_____

Departure Date: _____

(Please enclose check for one night's lodging as your deposit, made payable to **The Washington Hilton Hotel**) NR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HAZARDOUS TO YOUR HEALTH

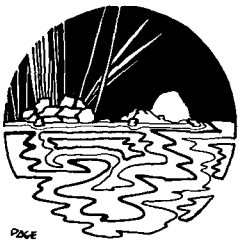
Wayne Lutton

The Surgeon General's Report on Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, by C. Everett Koop, MD, ScD (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 36 pp., free to the public)

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS on the AIDS front are not encouraging. In late October, *The New England Journal of Medicine* reported that the AIDS virus can cause new types of fatal diseases by infecting patients already carrying a related virus. In November, the discovery of two new AIDS-causing viruses was revealed, both of which can escape detection by the existing AIDS blood test (*New York Times*, Nov. 7 and Nov. 20, 1986). And the *Journal of the American Medical Association* reported that, despite explicit notification that they should not donate blood, some "high-risk" AIDS carriers are still doing so.

Strictly speaking, it is no longer accurate to refer to AIDS as simply an "immune-deficiency" disease, since the viruses can attack not only immune-system (T) cells, but also neural cells in the brain. As the AIDS virus mutates, it will be able to infect *any* cell in the body where a specific surface receptor protein is present (*Cell*, Nov. 7, 1986).

And while the public is being assured that an AIDS vaccine may be only five years away, medical researchers believe that if therapeutic drugs are developed, drug-resistant strains of the AIDS viruses will emerge. Dr. David Cohn of Denver Disease Control advises that "it's basically unrealistic" to talk about a cure for AIDS: "Because of the unusual way the AIDS virus multiplies within the lymph cells, every case can potentially be a different strain."



The Surgeon General's Report on AIDS was released on October 22, 1986, and immediately elicited warm praise from the *New York Times*, *Time*, and *Newsweek*. It was met by a chorus of approval from *The Advocate* and other leaders of the homosexual "community." Jeff Levi, executive director of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, gushed, "I thought it was very good. It takes a responsible and important position in favor of education . . . It is not homophobic." And Gil Gerald, director of the National Coalition of Black Lesbians and Gays, admitted that he was "very, very pleasantly surprised."

Conservatives who have applauded Dr. Koop's previous public stands on abortion, Baby Doe, and cigarette smoking are likely to experience a deep sense of dismay—indeed of betrayal—once they become familiar with his work on AIDS. The *Report* contains a number of serious factual errors and omissions. Koop's so-called strategy for containing AIDS—a combination of sex education for children and the use of condoms—has the potential for causing incalculable harm. Limitations of space permit the citation of only a few instances:

"Although the AIDS virus has been found in tears and saliva, no instance of transmission from these body fluids has been reported" (p. 25).

Dr. Jerome Groopman of Harvard and Dr. Robert Gallo of the National Cancer Institute (and the co-discoverer of the original AIDS virus) reported in a leading British medical journal, *The Lancet* (Dec. 22/29, 1984 [!]) that saliva was the mode of transmission from a man with transfusion-acquired AIDS to his wife. Dr. William Haseltine of Harvard Medical School remarked: "Anyone who tells you categorically that AIDS is not contracted by saliva is not telling you the truth" (*New York Times*, March 18, 1986).

"There is no danger of AIDS-virus infection from visiting a doctor, dentist, hospital, hairdresser, or beautician. . . . You may have wondered why your dentist wears gloves and perhaps a mask when treating you. This does not mean that he has AIDS or that he thinks you do. He is protecting you and himself from hepatitis, common colds, or flu" (pp. 22-23).

A definite danger exists of AIDS infection from any health-care provider engaging in invasive procedures. On November 15, 1985, and again on April 11, 1986, the federal Centers for

David Brooks is the new book editor of the Wall Street Journal.

Michael Liccione is a PhD candidate in philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania, where he has taught for several years.

Wayne Lutton is on the staff of The Summit, Manitou Springs, Colorado, and is the co-author, with David Noebel and Paul Cameron, of AIDS: Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome *(2nd, revised edition, The Summit, 1987).*

John P. McCarthy is a professor of history at Fordham University in New York City.

Forrest McDonald is a professor of history at the University of Alabama; his latest book is Novus Ordo Seclorum.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Disease Control (CDC) issued recommendations for preventing transmission of AIDS between dentists and their patients, including the wearing of gloves and masks. These recommendations have been widely adopted.

"Everyday living does not present any risk of infection. You cannot *get AIDS from casual social contact"* (p. 21).
"We know that family members living with individuals who have the AIDS virus do not become infected except through sexual contact" (p. 13).

Dr. Koop issued the above statement more than a month after the second documented case of non-sexual within-family transmission of AIDS was reported in *The Lancet* (Sept. 20, 1986).

"The first cases of AIDS were reported in this country in 1981. We would know by now if AIDS were passed by casual, non-sexual contact" (p. 5).
"Couples who maintain mutually faithful monogamous relationships are protected from AIDS through sexual transmission. If you have been faithful for at least five years and your partner has been faithful, too, neither of you is at risk. . . . This is true for both heterosexual and homosexual couples" (p. 16).

Elsewhere in his own *Report*, Koop concedes that "It is difficult to predict the number who will develop ARC [AIDS-related complex] or AIDS because *symptoms sometimes take as long as nine years to show up*" (p. 12; emphasis added). Medical researchers agree that the AIDS virus appeared in the U.S. about 11 years ago, which is why the CDC in 1985 asked all males who had had even one homosexual encounter within the previous ten years not to donate blood. Researchers also believe that the AIDS virus may incubate 15 years, or longer, before the onset of clinical manifestations of disease. As Washington, D.C., neurologist Richard Restak cautioned, "The incubation period is sufficiently lengthy to cast doubt on any proclamations, no matter how seemingly authoritative, in regard to the transmissibility of the illness."

"Some personal measures are adequate to safely protect yourself and others from infection by the AIDS virus. . . . If you test positive or if you engage in high-risk activities . . . you must protect your partner by always using a rubber (condom) during (start to finish) sexual intercourse (vagina or rectum)" (p. 17).

For anyone taking his advice, the consequences may be fatal. Condoms can break. They fail approximately 10 per cent of the time in vaginal intercourse. During rectal intercourse, condoms may rupture up to half the time. Such devices are not even guaranteed to prevent pregnancy. By advising people that sex is safe where AIDS is present—if only they use condoms—Dr. Koop may be guilty of inducing people to engage in dangerous—perhaps lethal—behavior. Whether or not Koop's utterances constitute criminal negligence, or even implicate him as an accessory to murder, is an intriguing legal question.

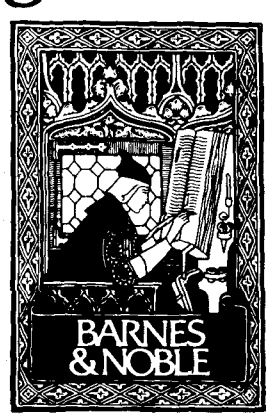
"Education of those who risk infecting themselves or infecting others is the only way we can stop the spread of AIDS" (p. 14).
"Education about AIDS should start in early elementary school. There is now no doubt that we need sex education in schools and that it include information on heterosexual and homosexual relationships" (p. 31).
"We are fighting a disease, not people . . . The country must face the epidemic as a unified society. We must fight the spread of AIDS while at the same time preserving our humanity and intimacy" (p. 6).

It is lunacy to suggest that the AIDS epidemic will be stopped by educating little children in the exotica of homosexual practices. That's on a par with combatting the drug scourge by acquainting children with all the "safe" tactics for administering narcotics to oneself.

Homosexuals, the major source of the AIDS infection, are still engaging in "unsafe" sexual practices and still attempting to make blood donations (*JAMA*, Sept. 12, 1986). The McKusick Study of homosexual males in San Francisco reported that of the 24 per cent engaged in the *least promiscuity*, 33 per cent admitted to oral/anal contact, 41 per cent to accepting semen in their rectum, and 52 per cent to ingesting semen in the last thirty days. A report on the sexual activities of homosexuals in London revealed that 38 per cent are ingesting feces, 24 per cent are engaging in sadomasochism, and 53 per cent are engaging in rectal intercourse with an average of about three partners a

Attention Book Lovers and Bargain Hunters!

If you're a discriminating book lover, you'll find the Barnes & Noble mail order catalog is a treasure trove of good reading. In every issue we offer history, literature, reference, art and gift books that you just can't find in your local bookstore. That includes the largest selection of quality paperbacks available by mail and impressive savings on *exclusives — up to 70% off publishers' prices*!



A CATALOG FOR THE READING CLASS

"Serious books for serious book lovers" is our hallmark. Robert Graves, P.G. Wodehouse, Michel Foucault & John Keegan are regulars here.

So, if you're a serious reader, you need the Barnes & Noble catalog —where we've been satisfying book lovers since 1873.

SEND · FOR CATALOG

TO RECEIVE THIS GREAT CATALOG, SEND $1.00. AND REMEMBER, EVERY ITEM YOU PURCHASE BY MAIL FROM US IS BACKED BY A 30-DAY MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE.

Barnes & Noble
Booksellers Since 1873

DEPT. 902P
126 FIFTH AVE.
N.Y. NY 10011

Please send me the Barnes & Noble catalog for $1.00

Name MR MS _____

Address _____ Apt. _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RANDOM NOTES

☐ More January Titles: *American High: The Years of Confidence, 1945-60* (Free Press, $19.95), by the historian William L. O'Neill (author of, among other titles, *A Better World*, concerning the impact—or lack of it—of Stalin on American intellectuals), is an excellent study of what may well have been America's Golden Age.

In *The War against the Press: Politics, Pressure, and Intimidation in the '80s* (Dodd, Mead, $17.95), Peter Stoler, *Time*'s Canada bureau chief, makes a weak case for the theory that the media—certainly among America's least endangered species—are threatened by policies conceived and executed by the Reagan Administration.

Du Pont: The Making of an Admiral (Dodd, Mead, $21.95), by James M. Merrill, is an excellent biography of Samuel Francis Du Pont, a distinguished veteran of the Mexican War and one of the founders of the Naval Academy, who, as the "darling of the Navy Department," helped plan naval strategy against the Confederacy and led a victorious attack on Port Royal. In an engagement off Charleston, however, he refused to make a second attack on the rebel forts and was relieved of command by the Secretary of the Navy: a disgrace from which his reputation had not recovered by the time of his death in 1865.

The Selected Letters of Mark Van Doren (Louisiana, $30), edited by George Hendrick and with a foreword by Dorothy Van Doren, covers a period of 62 years (1910-72) and includes letters from the Columbia professor to—in particular—Allen Tate and John Gould Fletcher, John Berryman and Thomas Merton (two distinguished students of his), and Mortimer Adler.

In *The Fatal Shore* (Knopf, $24.95), Robert Hughes has created a rich and vivid portrait of his native country's beginnings as a "thief colony," to which, after 1788, the British government exiled 160,000 convicts—thus making Australia, in the author's words, an "ancestor of the Gulag."

☐ Coming in February: In *Silicon Spies: The Implications of Soviet Acquisition of Western Technology* (St. Martin's, $14.95), Lauran Paine describes a "hemorrhage" of Western technological secrets, owing to the activities of vast numbers of Russian agents "encouraged by feeble laws in the West and even more feeble forms of punishment."

—CW

month (*The Lancet*, Nov. 1, 1986)—and this despite thousands of deaths and intensive education efforts.

Psychologist Paul Cameron, who chairs the Institute for the Scientific Investigation of Sexuality, wonders, "Why would anyone believe that 'education only' will accomplish the task? Every study has shown homosexuals exceptionally well informed about how not to get AIDS. . . . If we pursue the 'education only' option, then we have to bank on the social responsibility and self-control of the very ones who have shown no social responsibility or self-control."

A British expert on venereal diseases, Dr. John Seale, has called AIDS "the molecular biological equivalent of the nuclear bomb" and warns that "the genetic information contained in its tiny strip of RNA has all that is needed to render the human race extinct within fifty years." In the face of such a threat, the Reagan Administration's medical specialist has issued a report that obscures the true dimensions of this disease and offers no real program for effectively dealing with it. AIDS has thus become the first politically protected disease in history. Koop's study should have emblazoned across its cover: "WARNING! THE SURGEON GENERAL'S REPORT ON AIDS MAY BE HAZARDOUS TO YOUR HEALTH." ☐

SWEATING THE DETAILS

David Brooks

The Reckoning, by David Halberstam (Morrow, 728 pp., $19.95)

As Hal Sperlich rested in his Grosse Pointe home with visions of fuel efficiency pounding in his head, he could not have known that the product of four thousand years of Asian culture was about to come barreling forth from the East, shattering the casual complacency of pampered American psyches, smashing the hollow confidence of Western ethnocentrists, shackling the American worker in a union-made straitjacket of humiliation, degradation, and ruin. He could not have known that the front-wheel-drive mechanism, the very idea he had unsuccessfully pitched to the Ford Motor Company establishment that morning, would alter the eternal destiny of all mankind.

David Halberstam's books really ought to come with soundtracks; the man has a flair for the melodramatic. His latest relapse into best-selling elephantiasis is *The Reckoning*, about the decline and fall of the United States. This is a subject that brings out the youthful enthusiasm in Mr. Halberstam; he caresses every American defeat and humiliation, extending his story to 728 masochistic pages.

He believes he has captured America's disgrace in the inability of the Ford Motor Company to keep up with its Japanese rivals, specifically Nissan. While America was indulging in big, bawdy road machines, the Japanese were turning profits back into product, preparing the way for their eventual domination. This is an extremely familiar theme. Mr. Halberstam distinguishes his book by sweating the details.

For Halberstam, history is biography, and so is sociology, and so is engineering, and anthropology, and political philosophy. *The Reckoning* is a collection of thumbnail biographies of the men who owned and managed, worked and organized in these two car companies. I counted 109 major characters, and hundreds of walk-ons. The reader had better stay alert, or he might confuse Katsuji Kawamata with Yutaka Katayama. Just because Halberstam hasn't mentioned Charlie Maxwell since page 20 doesn't mean he won't expect you to know Maxwell when he suddenly reappears on page 680.

Aside from the fact that there are too many of them, Halberstam's thumbnail biographies are superb. Lee Iacocca and John DeLorean are familiar, but the average newspaper reader will learn a lot from Halberstam's portraits of Henry Ford II, Bill Knudsen, Robert McNamara, and the remarkable men who built Nissan and crushed the Marxist labor unions that threatened its existence. By virtue of these biographies, *The Reckoning* is fun to read, with the pace of a summer novel and the added benefit that it actually teaches you something about the car business.

Halberstam runs into trouble when he tries to generalize from his miniportraits. He will deliver fifty pages detailing the quirks of various Ford executives, and then, called upon to classify the whole group, he will revert to a banal stereotype. He will tell us they are bland corporate clones, with little blonde housewives and a taste

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for martinis, but devoid of imagination or interests beyond their own careerism.

In Halberstam's view, the problems with the car industry—and, by extension, with America—are simple. The white hats are worn by the "good car men," engineers and creative people who are obsessed with product innovations. If left alone, they would lead Ford to market dominance. Unfortunately, their efforts are frustrated by the guys in the black hats, the finance men, typified here by McNamara. The finance men scarcely know what a car is. All they care about is numbers—short-term profits and stock performance. Halberstam sees every episode in the history of Ford as a conflict between these two forces.

The only complication in this formula is the workers. At first they are among the good guys, but by the Sixties they are overpaid and spoiled; they join the forces of reaction.

These observations may be essentially accurate—never underestimate the self-destructive capabilities of a corporate bureaucracy—but surely the situation is not nearly so pat. I began to doubt Mr. Halberstam's credibility when he misrepresented Ford's recent history, which is one of tremendous accomplishment. For the past six years, Ford has been making superior cars, capping its success with the Taurus, which was named Car of the Year in 1985 and has been selling phenomenally well. One would think that in a book of over thirty thousand lines, Halberstam could have squeezed in more than seven lines about the Taurus. But Ford's recent success doesn't fit into Halberstam's Decline and Fall of America thesis.

Halberstam's picture of the broader American economy is equally warped. He describes America's failures in almost pornographic detail, concluding pessimistically (of course) with the sentence, "Few [are] discussing how best to adjust the nation to an age of somewhat diminished expectations, or how to marshal its abundant resources for survival in a harsh, unforgiving new world, or how to spread the inevitable sacrifices equitably."

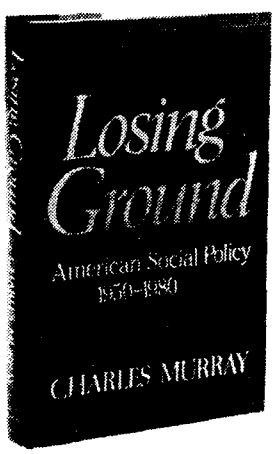
Actually, Jimmy Carter is discussing these things. But he is wasting his time. Halberstam's history-as-biography method fails him here because he doesn't apply it rigorously enough. Had he done so, he would have come across the abundant evidence that America is not a declining empire. As it is, he falls victim to the sort of shallow myths that Warren Brookes is always shattering in his columns. The following facts, mostly uncovered by Brookes, give a fairer picture of the American future:

—Since 1980, U.S. manufacturing productivity has risen a stunning 24.3 per cent, a far greater increase than Japan's. Productivity is improving even faster in heavy-durable-goods manufacturing.

—Since 1980 America has created 11 million new jobs, a gain of 8.2 per cent. Japanese job totals have increased by only 4 per cent.

—The United States has the highest rate of employment in history. Nearly 61 per cent of Americans over 16 are working. Japan's figure is slightly lower.

—Since 1970, real personal income



ORDER TOLL-FREE
1-800-238-2200
ext 500
Charge your Visa or MasterCard
• Continental U.S. •
24 hours a day • 7 days a week

MONEY BACK GUARANTEE
If for any reason you are dissatisfied with any book, just return it within 30 days for a refund

Does welfare HURT the poor?

This profoundly influential book explains how the welfare state not only failed to help the poor, but often made things worse for the disadvantaged.

Murray's breakthrough work has had explosive impact on discussions of social policy in the '80s, and the reverberations will echo beyond the decade. This is the book social democrat Michael Harrington has called "dangerous," while such conservatives as Milton Friedman, William Buckley, Jack Kemp and Patrick Buchanan have hailed it as "brilliant."

NOW AVAILABLE IN PAPERBACK
from LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS
Order #CU0572 $10.95

Send your order to:
LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS, Dept. NBR
532 Broadway, 7th Floor, NY 10012

Please send me _____ copies of **Losing Ground** (order CU0572) for $10.95 each, plus $1.00 postage & handling ($2.00 for foreign orders).

☐ Send me your 32-page catalog of books on liberty.

☐ My check or money order is enclosed for $_____.

☐ Please bill my ☐ Visa ☐ Master Card.

Acct. No. _____

Expir. Date _____

Signature _____

Name (Please Print) _____

Address _____

City / State / Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has risen more than 52 per cent, while per-capita disposable income has risen 30 per cent.

America is not declining and falling. Somebody should give David Halberstam a ride in a Taurus. □

CASEY STENGEL AT WAR

Forrest McDonald

Eisenhower at War, 1943-1945, by David Eisenhower (Random House, 977 pp., $29.95)

DAVID EISENHOWER'S study of his grandfather during World War II should have been a cracking good book. The idea was sound enough: After considerable research toward a work on Ike's Presidency, David concluded that the Presidency could not be understood without a thorough grasp of the wartime experience, in which Ike was less a soldier than a combined diplomat and bureaucrat, responsible for reconciling the conflicts between allies who saw the war from entirely different perspectives, between British and American generals, and among subordinate generals who respected him but thought (with some justice) that he knew next to nothing about being "a real military commander." The research effort was stupendous: To become able to comprehend the vast number of decisions that Ike had to make in such circumstances, the author pored over stupefying numbers of reports, messages, and minutes of conferences, in addition to studying the voluminous and often contradictory memoirs and secondary accounts of the war. Besides all that, because he is who he is, young Eisenhower had access to a treasure trove of interviews that have not been available to others.

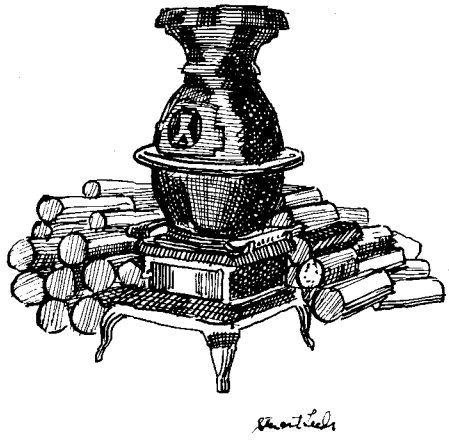
In fairness, it should be said that there are those who maintain that it is in fact a cracking good book. Richard M. Nixon, for example, describes it as "a monumental work" and judges it to be "the first truly great biography of Eisenhower"; and one can be reasonably confident that Nixon, unlike some others who have praised it, actually read all its nine hundred-plus pages. And yet, reluctant as I am to quibble with a fond father-in-law—and indeed loath as I am to be critical of young David, who by all accounts is such a decent person that saying anything unkind about him is comparable in meanness to not liking Sara Lee—it is my solemn duty to record that *Eisenhower at War* is among the dozen most tedious, least readable, and least comprehensible books that I have ever slugged my way through. How boring is it? It is so boring that, by the time one approaches the end, one almost hopes that Patton will stage a coup, take command, and invade Russia, or even that Zhukov will push Eisenhower's forces into the sea, just to liven things up a bit.

The problems with the book can be illustrated by a single quotation, prefaced by a memory refresher. Some readers will recall that during Eisenhower's Presidency, newspapers occasionally reported his press conferences verbatim, revealing a mind at work that seemed scarcely distinguishable from Casey Stengel's. Now listen to David's coverage of Ike's thinking as of November 1944:

> Was there any evidence that the Germans would retreat behind the Rhine? "I have seen none," Eisenhower replied, "and I should think—and this would merely be the attitude of anyone—that had I brought that much of my force as much as he was west of the Rhine with a big river at my back where there are numerous bridges with the knowledge that the other fellow has a very powerful air force, I'd say 'This far and no farther.'" . . . He added, "Remember this —human beings are still human. I don't give a damn if they are Nazis, they are still human and if you keep putting failure after failure on the part of his army he is going to be licked one day, and that is all there is to it."

This is not to suggest that David Eisenhower himself writes in such a *nolo comprehendi* style. On a sentence-by-sentence basis his prose is perfectly intelligible. On a larger scale, however, the effect is the same. We are given, in regard to every major decision, an objective summary of every consideration that had to be taken into account, together with everything everybody said at every conference and every order anybody sent anybody. As a result, the reader becomes lost in the maze of detail, and so does the author, who repeatedly forgets whether he has previously made a particular point or not. For instance, we are told at least a dozen times Eisenhower's thinking about whether to take Berlin, and are told nearly that many times that a huge Russian force was concentrated on the Oder, 35 miles east of the city; though we are never told why the Russians sat there for two and a half months as the Americans came ever closer. The resulting muddle is Stengelese writ large.

The essence of the historian's art lies in selectiveness: in making appropriate generalizations and judicious choices: in knowing which details to compress into general propositions and which to leave out. If David Eisenhower expects readers to stay with him as he goes on with his work as Ike's biographer, he will have to learn this. Alternatively, his publishers might do what David Stockman's are said to have done, namely, turn his notes and drafts over to someone who can rework them into a readable book. □



CHAMPION OF LIBERTY

John P. McCarthy

G. K. Chesterton, by Michael Ffinch (Harper & Row, 384 pp., $18.95)

THIS MAKES THE Chesterton revival official: a most favorable volume, with the weight and authority of a standard biography, coming from a mainline publisher like Harper & Row. The past decade has already seen several books on different aspects of Chesterton's thought, two biographies, the appearance of a quarterly (*The Chesterton Review*), and the commenced reprinting of his collected works. Chestertonians will receive this addition to the stack with pleasure. While it

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

makes no major alterations in the general view one gets from Chesterton's own autobiography and Maisie Ward's 1945 biography, it does fill out the picture, especially of the younger GKC and of the family background, by the use of newly discovered letters and notebooks.

An old-style Liberal, Chesterton was born during "the beginning of the rapid growth of Empire in Queen Victoria's reign" and died at the time of the consolidation of National Socialism in Germany. According to Ffinch, Chesterton would have considered the aim of the two movements to have been much the same: "a self-interested expansionism seeking to deprive others of their rights, property, and land." Chesterton "was above all things a great champion of Liberty," and Ffinch sees this as the motive force behind his move from the Liberal Unitarianism of his childhood toward Catholicism: As Chesterton came to realize that "it was only by loving and serving God through His Church that perfect freedom may be found, so it was inevitable that in the cause of Liberty, he also became a defender of the Faith."

The book offers delightful samples of GKC's paradox and parallelism, which, as his comrade-in-arms, Hilaire Belloc, noted, "made men see what they had not seen before." What better description of our present-day social and political enthusiasms could we find than Chesterton's suggestion that "The modern world is full of the old Christian virtues gone mad . . . because they have been isolated from each other and are wandering alone"? Also delightfully appropriate is his observation that "For some inconceivable cause a 'broad' or 'liberal' clergyman always means a man who wishes at least to diminish the number of miracles; it never means a man who wishes to increase that number."

Ffinch's account of the Chestertons' travels, often difficult for GKC's frail wife, Frances, are fascinating, especially the tours of the United States, Palestine, and Poland. Chesterton's love for Poland was constant, for she was, like Ireland, "at once intensely loved and intensely hated" for her great popular devotion to Catholicism. In contrast to Alzina Stone Dale's recent study of Chesterton, *An Outline of Sanity*—in which Chesterton's conversion to Catholicism is seen essentially as an afterthought to his emergence as a champion of Christian orthodoxy twenty years before—Ffinch constructs his volume in a way that suggests that joining the Church was a natural and inevitable, if belated, feature of Chesterton's development. No doubt if Chesterton had died—as he almost did in 1915—before his conversion to Catholicism he still would rank high among the champions of "orthodoxy." But as it is, *The Everlasting Man*, *The Thing*, and *St. Thomas Aquinas* make it impossible not to label him a Catholic writer.

His travels to the Holy Land give rise to a discussion of the inescapable, awkward question of his attitude toward Jews. He was not a racist or even a religious anti-Semite, and he accepted the Zionist premise that the Jews are a distinct people or nation. Because of that, he held, their position in other nations should be formally that of "guests." He feared that the failure of both Jews and non-Jews to accept that view was going to result in a horrendous catastrophe. Such a catastrophe of course did come about, but to hold that the legal distinction of Jews from others in modern nations

A Great Tradition Faithfully Preserved

THE MADISON℠

Washington's Correct Address℠

THE MADISON HOTEL
15th & M Streets, Northwest
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 862-1600 (800) 424-8577
Telex: 64245

Marshall B. Coyne

Speak German like a Diplomat!®

What sort of people need to learn a foreign language as quickly and effectively as possible? *Foreign service personnel*, that's who.

Now you can learn to speak German with the same materials used by the U.S. State Department —the Foreign Service Institute's *Programmed Introduction to German*.

The FSI spent thousands of dollars and many years developing these materials for use by members of the United States diplomatic corps. Today people in all walks of life who need to learn to speak a foreign language are turning to this outstanding audio program.

The FSI's German Course is by far *the most effective way* to learn German at your own convenience and pace. It consists of a series of cassettes, recorded by native German speakers, and accompanying textbook. You simply follow the spoken and written instructions, listening and learning. By the end of the course you'll find yourself learning and speaking entirely in German!

This course turns your cassette player into a "teaching machine." With its unique "programmed" learning method, you set your own pace—testing yourself, correcting errors, reinforcing accurate responses.

This FSI Programmed Course comes in two volumes, each shipped in a handsome library binder. Order either, or save 10% by ordering both:

☐ **Volume I. Programmed Introduction to German**, 10 cassettes (13 hr.), and 647-p. text, $135.

☐ **Volume II. Basic Course Continued**, 8 cassettes, (8 hr.), and 179-p. text, $120.

(CT residents add sales tax.)

TO ORDER BY PHONE, PLEASE CALL TOLL-FREE NUMBER: **1-800-243-1234.**

To order by mail, clip this ad and send with your name and address, and a check or money order — or charge to your credit card (VISA, MasterCard, AmEx, Diners) by enclosing card number, expiration date, and your signature.

The Foreign Service Institute's German Course is unconditionally guaranteed. Try it for three weeks. If you're not convinced it's the fastest, easiest, most painless way to learn German, return it and we'll refund every penny you paid. Order today!

120 courses in 41 other languages also available. Write us for free catalog. Our 12th year.

AUDIO-FORUM®

Audio-Forum
Room K123
On-The-Green,
Guilford, CT 06437
(203) 453-9794

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

could have avoided the Holocaust is totally unrealistic.

American conservatives—even those who agree with Chesterton on nearly every other point—will mostly find Chesterton's economic ideas confused, and confusing. For instance, *G. K.'s Weekly* sympathized with the general strike of 1926. In 1912 Chesterton began to write regularly for the socialist *Daily Herald*. He had lost his column in the Liberal *Daily News* because of his poetic criticism of its patron, the teetotaling chocolate magnate, George Cadbury:

> *Cocoa is a cad and coward,*
> *Cocoa is a vulgar beast,*
> *Cocoa is a crawling, cringing,*
> *Lying, loathsome swine and clown.*

However, much earlier in his career he had forsaken the lure of socialism, especially as he came under the influence of Hilaire Belloc, who, in *The Servile State*, very precisely pinpointed the enemy of liberty in the collusion of capitalists and the state.

Chesterton enthusiasts will be annoyed at Ffinch's acceptance of Ada Jones's (Mrs. Cecil Chesterton's) claim that GKC's marriage was unconsummated as a consequence of Frances's revulsion at his over-aggressive and awkward "assault" on their marriage night. The fact that Frances later underwent (unsuccessful) surgery to facilitate pregnancy ought to contradict Ada's claim, which was in part based on hostility toward her sister-in-law.

Unlike some who have written on Chesterton, Ffinch does not seek to separate Chesterton from Belloc; indeed, he acknowledges Chesterton's indebtedness to Belloc, although noting that he lacked the "acerbity" or "bite" that gave such power to Belloc's writing. But that lack also spared him the enemies that Belloc made.

Especially touching is the account at the end of the book of the search for Belloc after GKC's funeral. "He was eventually tracked down to the Railway Hotel, leaning against the door weeping, a pint pot untasted in his hand." □

SOLID HEAVEN

Michael Liccione

The Four Last Things, by George William Rutler (Credo House, 199 pp., $8.95)

THE VOGUE OF liberation theology lends currency to a conservative battle cry of a couple of decades ago: "Don't let *them* immanentize the eschaton." "They" now include theologians urging that God's Kingdom be someday presented to Him as a revolutionary *fait accompli*. The Vatican is dealing firmly with the would-be immanentizers; but in the meantime one hears far less about those *eschata*—death, judgment, hell, and heaven—that pertain to us all as individuals.

To the amazement of some journalists, the present Pope does preach on such matters from time to time; but for a generation now the four last things have gotten short shrift from clergy of the mainline churches, principally because they can't be addressed to much purpose without a frank supernaturalism that modern adults have supposedly outgrown. That fear is, to say the least, outdated. As Father Rutler reminds us, we live in a "postmodern" age in religion as well as in the arts and philosophy. In a wise attempt to help us resist the immanentizing of the *eschata*, he has unapologetically offered a little book of revised sermons that reaffirm, with rare wit, sustained subtlety, and coruscating erudition, those aspects of traditional Catholic eschatology that the trendy theologians at best pass over in tactical silence.

Rutler's approach should find willing hearers. The growth of cults, occultism, and Eastern mysticism on the one hand, and of evangelicalism, old-fashioned religious orders, and simple lay interest in prayer on the other, is often pictured and airbrushed as "pluralism." But these phenomena are more probably evidence of a hunger for the transcendent. Notwithstanding the seductive superstition that death suffices for eternal salvation, most people's religious concerns continue to pivot on the issue of death and the possibilities beyond it. Rutler's book tackles those concerns on their own terms instead of explaining to readers how backward they are for having them.

The unusual timbre of Rutler's prose, which matches that of his spoken homilies, calls for both advertisement and a caveat. In a way reminiscent of Chesterton, Rutler proceeds by association, indirection, and paradox rather than by drily literal dialectic. Readers of a literary bent will be delighted by many little gems. But don't look for the analytical tidiness of traditional apologetics: The key claims are all presupposed, and the book is more a way to bring out their richness and beauty, to make entertainingly palpable their superiority to the alternatives. For example, the title of his first major chapter, "The Point of Death," is a characteristic play on words: The subject is death, but death is presented as both the last stage of *life* and the purpose of life. Thus the end of this life is death, which is the precondition of life in its abundance.

For the Christian, the unavoidable deaths of daily life must be turned into the living of a higher life, into which one can fully enter at the moment of physical death. This is the paradoxical "economy of sacrifice," whose laws are opaque to those who shop for their religion piecemeal, in spiritual supermarkets and cafeterias:

> Religiosity as an attempt at spiritual consolations without the threatening implications of mortal sacrifice creates a self-defeating restlessness. This tends to be the type of religious philosophy most marketable in the modern consumerist society. . . . The self-protecting religionist who hesitates to enter the economy of sacrifice soon will not want to enter the confessional and then he will not want to enter the church.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The point of death, once apprehended, is that we are not here to be comfortable with ourselves, but to become gods, little Christs, by participation in His dying and rising.

The titles of the next two chapters also form heuristic puns: "Judgement" (Rutler, a convert from Anglicanism, prefers British spelling) refers both to God's dealing with us after our deaths and to our exercise of the capacity to know the sort of behavior for which we will be judged favorably. "Hell" is about both the *poena damni*—spiritualized without being trivialized—and the all-too-earthly consequences of failing to entertain its possibility. My favorite, fittingly enough I suppose, is the last: "Solid Heaven," which evokes the solid doctrine that one's eternal reward is heavier, stabler, more real than temporal ones. The relative fragility of secular ultimacies could not be thrown into clearer relief:

> Optimism's tortured abuse, as it has in one way or another affected all materialist philosophy, is absolutely absent from the mystical descriptions of heaven. The saints are too occupied with visions to waste time on illusions, and so Paul Claudel said that everything must be either allusion or illusion. Heaven is that to which all solidity alludes. Celestial poetry is golden verse; the landscape of it is crystal and its music is definite, no muffled drums or saxophones. The holy mystics clean up the vision of optimism somewhat the way art restorers can clean the face of a Sienese madonna and who, by so doing, may upset the occasional aesthete who had come to admire the grime.

The blurb on the back cover of this paperback says that "Rutler is a priest of the Archdiocese of New York engaged in pastoral ministry." That is true, but it understates a range of activities that is exhausting even to contemplate: lectures, private spiritual direction and the giving of collective retreats, articles and books (including *The Problem of Job*, an allusion to "the problem of evil" that niftily reverses the usual terms of debate), television interviews—all this in addition to the mundane duties of the usual parish priest. The blurb also says that "he is often compared to Fulton J. Sheen as one of the Church's greatest homilists." That is an exaggeration, one that I'm sure must embarrass him. But the level of his teaching is so many quanta above the current norm that both believers and unbelievers now have less excuse for spiritual ignorance and torpor. □

FILM

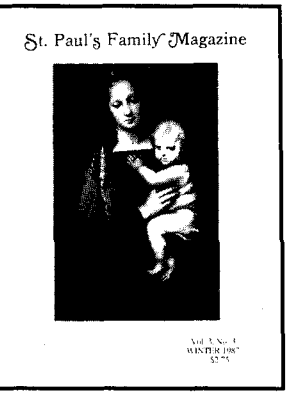
WORST DECLENSION

John Simon

A HEAVY CURSE hangs over Canadian filmmaking. Thanks to the National Film Board of Canada, excellent documentaries, short subjects, and cartoons have been made through the years all over the country. But neither from the Film Board nor from any other producers, neither from French nor from English Canada, has there come a single outstanding feature film. There have been some competent commercial efforts (though not many of those); a few, rather parochial art-house favorites (though not on an international scale); and some not unworthy co-productions with England, France, and the United States. But in the full-length fiction-film category, not one solitary Canadian masterwork.

In a way, it is understandable. Canada is a tragic country, saddled with three separate but equal inferiority complexes: toward France, toward England, and especially toward the United States. And though I am not speaking only cinematically here, I am certainly speaking cinematically too. When it comes to actors and actresses, Canada has done well enough; in fact, Canadian performers have the advantage of being able to play Yanks in England and Brits in the U.S.A. But the moment we move a step up to writers and directors, the frost sets in. It need not be so forever, but Denys Arcand's *The Decline of the American Empire* is symptomatic of what obtains now—down to its very title. Although *Le Déclin de l'empire américain* is very much a Canadian, indeed French Canadian, film in content and sensibility, it must pretend, to convince itself of its own importance, to pertain to an "American empire," which presumably includes the U.S. and Canada, though not the Eskimos.

The film also pretends to considerable sophistication, but what prevails is intellectual and moral confusion. This extends even to such mundane matters



A quarterly for children 7 to 97.

Surely no editor has ever had a more cantankerous stable of writers. Aesop, Chaucer, Cervantes, Stevenson, Kipling, Pyle, Andersen, the Grimms... Where did (they) find such a crowd of sundry folk? But then, I know. It was on a pilgrimage.

Send $10.00 for a one-year subscription to:
St. Paul's Family Magazine
P.O. Box 772, Ft. Scott, KS 66701
1-800-523-5562

NEED A "BLACK TIE" TUX? NEVER RENT AGAIN!

TUXEDOS 8 Pc. Set $169

Factory to you prices! after Six FORMALS **Guaranteed Fit!**

Believe it or not $169 buys a top quality (black) 8 pc. tux outfit complete with coat, pants, shirt, tie, cummerbund, suspenders, black socks, and kerchief - the works! No more tux rentals! No last minute foul-ups! **You'll** save money too! **You'll** have your own great-fitting, good-looking tux ready when you are. Can you afford to pass up a bargain like this? We have **your** size from 34 to 46 in reg, short, long, and Xlong. **Big guys,** don't despair. We have **your** size too! **Latest styles.** Top quality factory-fresh goods. No seconds, no rejects — guaranteed. We are the source for white dinner jackets and full dress tails — at bargain prices too! Free info. No obligation. Mail coupon below. For faster action dial 412-264-3700 daily 9 to 5 (eastern). We honor VISA and MC. Isn't it time you owned your own tuxedo? Don't put it off. Do it TODAY!

GUARANTEED FIT. ORDER BY MAIL
ORDER BY PHONE — (412) 264-3700

MAIL NO RISK COUPON NOW!

Mail to: Chilbert, Dept. NR-1, Chilbert Bldg., Mill Street, Coraopolis, PA 15108

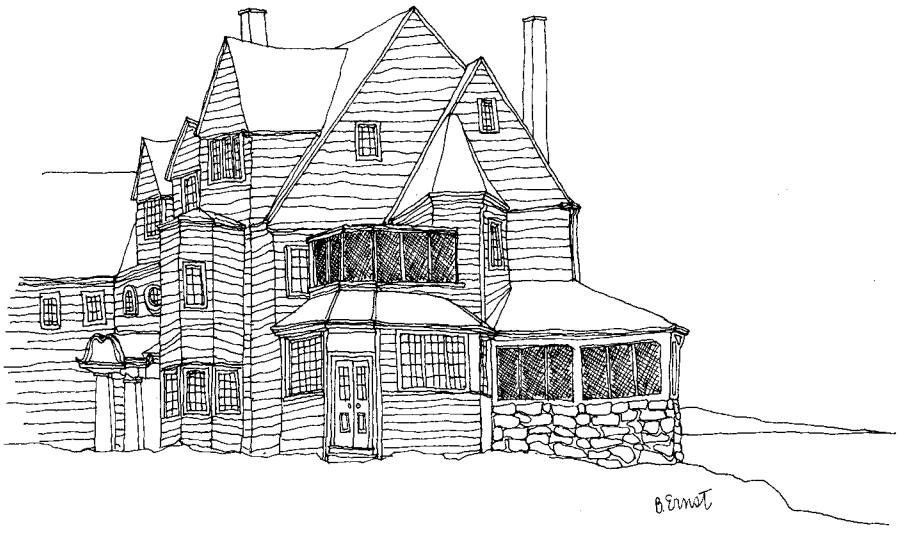
Please rush my personal free copy of your catalog featuring an 8 pc. top quality tux outfit for $169. I understand there is no obligation and a good fit is guaranteed. Please type or print.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Member Airport Area Chamber of Commerce, Coraopolis, PA.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as the locale. We begin, in the title sequence, with an endless hall through which someone roller-skates as the camera dollies after him. The site looks like a combination trade center, university hall, and fancy subway station. Forthwith, however, it is a place where Diane—a junior, untenured lecturer in the Laval University history department, moonlighting to support herself and her two children—tapes a radio interview with Dominique, her department chairman, about the latter's new book, *Changing Concepts of Happiness*, from whose thesis the title of the movie derives. Why conduct an interview peripatetically in such a place rather than sitting in an office?



At the end of the hall is a stairway the women ascend to find themselves in a gym complete with Nautilus machines, swimming pool, steam bath, etc., far fancier than anything in a university. Yet adjoining this health club is a university athletic field, where the women subsequently run around. I dwell on this topographical disorientation to convey the film's manipulativeness: The characters and what little plot there is are equally haphazard, inconsistent, contrived for flashy effects. In the health club, we meet two more of the principal personages: Louise, the old-fashioned, faithful wife of Rémy, a middle-aged history professor, and Danielle, a young student and mistress of Pierre, another such professor, both men dedicated rakes.

Meanwhile, the men are preparing dinner in Rémy and Louise's opulent summer house by a scenic lake, where Pierre and Diane also have houses. Besides Rémy and Pierre, who is divorced, there are also the art historian Claude, who feels real only when he is out cruising for men but who is now making trout *coulibiac* (salmon having proved unavailable), and Alain, a teaching fellow, who is of an angelic innocence more befitting a Labrador puppy. While everyone helps out in the kitchen, the talk is almost incessantly about sex. Rémy and Pierre itemize every type of conquest or affair they've had—with students, teachers, secretaries, anybody—while Claude, antiphonally, provides homosexual equivalents. The talk is apparently meant to be all delicious anecdotes and dazzling epigrams, though it only occasionally rises to the mildly amusing. But Arcand, the author-director, allows for the possibility that the nonstop giggling both men and women indulge in in their respective scenes (he keeps crosscutting between the health club and the summer house) really proves their mediocrity or decadence, and that the wit is only ersatz. So you and he can have it either way.

There is obvious, heavy irony in the men cooking while the women are pushing and pulling heavy metal as they too indulge in heavy sex talk (chiefly Dominique and Diane, to be sure), comparing notes about sex with men in different parts of the world, of various ages and organic endowments, and in different but simultaneous numbers. They exchange efficacious methods for sexual putdowns, rate male prowess via terminology drawn from tourist guidebooks, and admit to the odd lesbian fling. Diane, whose back is crisscrossed by welts, describes her latest, sadomasochistic relationship with a wild man, Mario, whom she met in a bar. She extols the sense of control she gets from the man's need of her, even when she is tied to the radiator in ever more humiliating postures and whipped. There is talk also of orgies, to one of which we flash back with especially heavy-handed humor. Again, it's impossible to gauge Arcand's stand: Is the reversal of roles and the sexual aggressiveness of these women part of the decline of an empire, or is it the height of achievement of a vanishing culture, as the loving chronicling of every scabrous detail would suggest?

As it turns out, the main sexual athletes, male and female, have all slept with one another, which the film seems to view as farce until the end, when it turns into sentimental drama. But to proceed: When the four men and four women, briefly joined by Mario, get together for dinner, the talk continues to be about sex, and it is very hard to find a character to feel much sympathy for. It is no less hard to know how to take such apophthegms as Rémy's "Lies are the basis of all love affairs, just as they are the cement that holds society together," or Pierre's "If I'm in love, I have a hard-on; if I don't have a hard-on, I'm not in love." Are they, like the rest of the chatter, meant to be witty, pseudo-witty, or just pitiful? Such is Arcand's muddleheadedness or disingenuousness that we cannot tell whether the decline of the American empire is hastened by these overexperienced characters (and whether, incidentally, the naïveté of Alain or Louise is a better thing) or how this decline is to be taken: with amusement or with regret.

To the sin of vagueness, Arcand adds the error of obviousness. There is scarcely a point or a joke, however trivial and exoteric, that isn't made at least twice; there is nary a comic conceit that isn't dragged out until one's laughter turns into teeth-grinding. And there is no characterization that isn't pushed to simplistic extremes, with often a paradoxical kicker added by way of facile surprise. Thus Mario cannot seem ordinary and still be a sadist; he has to sport a single earring with a cluster of pearls, a pigtail, leather and metal galore, and behave like a boor. That Diane should act subservient around him is fine; but must Claude also be made to stare at him continually like a love-sick schoolboy and wait on him hand and foot? Wouldn't a few glances suffice?

Similarly, when Claude, who has been undergoing tests for a disease that may be AIDS (though everything

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is kept shadowy, and even Claude's fears are insubstantial), urinates, what comes out is not merely suffused with blood; rather, the entire bowl is incarnadined, making the gold one red. Nevertheless, it is he who will prove a tower of strength and consolation to Louise when she discovers the full extent of her husband's infidelities. And the gross, anti-intellectual Mario, after a night of beatings, presents Diane with a civilized-sounding book on history, *The Sense of the Past in the Present*. Funny world, *non*?

Yet history, which does come up occasionally when the talk strays from sex, is treated both superficially and inaccurately. Thus Rémy is seen lecturing a class about how history is numbers first and last, the many always winning out over the few. Arcand seems to believe this; but what about, say, the Persians in Greece or the Americans in Vietnam, to name but two? Later, Diane is seen lecturing about how history records the deeds and thoughts of the winners, whereas the losers (including, in the past, women) vanish without much of a trace. But we do know about the losers (including women) if they were literate and around long enough, e.g., the Jews, the Greeks, etc. But even when Arcand is right, as when his historians proclaim the inevitable decline and death of every civilization, such truths are too trite to pass for ideas anywhere except in a Canadian movie. In one of *our* movies, to be sure, these platitudes would be considered too highbrow, too daring, even to mention.

Worst of all, however, is Arcand's pandering to the public. Thus, the sophisticated Rémy does not recognize a whore he is soliciting for the transvestite "she" is; the dumbest member of the audience does, and roars with self-satisfied laughter. Again, Pierre meets his history-student girlfriend when she is a part-time massage-parlor girl; not knowing he is one of her profs, she lectures him on history while making him come. This matchless piece of preposterous crudeness has the audience rolling in the aisles. Decline, says he? I'm reminded of the famous schoolboy boner: "The Templar asked Rebecca to become his mistress. The brave girl reclined to do so." □

TELEVISION

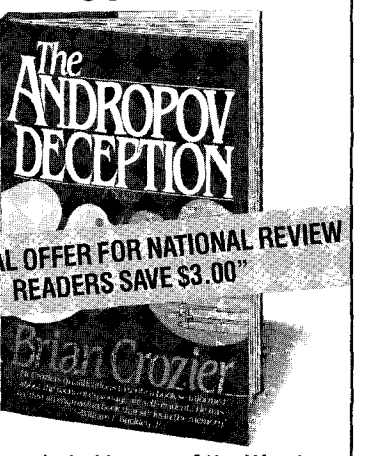
GOOD-BYE TO ALL THAT

Terry Teachout

LISTEN CAREFULLY on January 20, and you just might be able to hear the gnashing of liberal teeth issuing from your television set. The Corporation for Public Broadcasting will be commemorating the sixth anniversary of the Reagan Revolution by broadcasting *The Conservatives*, Neal B. Freeman's new documentary on the rise of the Right. The penance owed by PBS for its myriad ideological sins is a good deal more substantial than usual these days, thanks to *The Africans*, and so it's hardly surprising that the fourth network's annual homage to the forces of darkness is coming a little early this year. But the punishment, not surprisingly, doesn't quite fit the crime. Instead of a nine-part BBC-type extravaganza on, say, the joys of covert action, Mr. Freeman has been given a measly ninety minutes in which to convey the complex essence of an entire ideology. To which must be added the regrettable fact that *The Conservatives*, for all its undeniable virtues, probably won't make much of an impression on the kind of person who tends to watch PBS documentaries.

Not that Mr. Freeman's intentions are anything less than honorable. The purpose of *The Conservatives*, he says, is to "fill the holes in public knowledge about the intellectual premises of conservatism, while refreshing the public memory of the events that propelled Ronald Reagan into the White House." The problem is one of approach. Parts of *The Conservatives* presuppose more than a little knowledge of conservatism on the part of the viewer. The discussion of "the intellectual premises of conservatism" whizzes by in a blur of grossly oversimplified genealogy. Conservative nabobs who are unknown to the general public are thrown up on the screen without adequate introduction. Notorious demons like Whittaker Chambers and Joe McCarthy are treated with

READ THE SPY THRILLER THAT BOWLED OVER BUCKLEY.



Masterminded by one of the West's foremost experts on Soviet subversion, terrorism, and power politics, *The Andropov Deception* is hailed by William F. Buckley as **"an engrossing book that sticks in the memory.... Mr. Crozier's qualifications to write a book so informed about the world of espionage are self-evident.... What surprises is the extraordinary deftness of touch."**

"Differs from the run-of-the-mill of the genre in that the author is obviously intimately acquainted... with intelligence services in both the East and the West. This lends his dramatic story a remarkable air of authenticity."

—Richard Pipes, Baird Professor of History, Harvard University

"When a spy thriller arrives garlanded with advance praise by William F. Buckley, Jr. and Richard Pipes, that should be assurance enough that the reader is in for a treat. And what a treat it is."

—Arnold Beichman
The Washington Times

Mail to:
Beaufort Books
Department 1555, 9 East 40th Street
New York, NY 10016

Please send me _____ copy(ies) of THE ANDROPOV DECEPTION at the special price of $12.95 each (Publisher's list price $15.95), plus $1.75 postage and handling charge per order. I have enclosed check or money order for the total amount, including appropriate state and local taxes.

Name_____

Address_____

State_____ Zip_____

WARNING: This novel contains some explicit sex scenes that some readers may find offensive.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the kind of even-handed balance that will lead the average PBS fan to grab wildly for his remote control.

Matters are made worse by the slightly old-fashioned look of *The Conservatives*. Slick the show is, professional it is in equal measure, but the slickness and professionalism are simply not rooted in the visual grammar of the 1980s. From the background Muzak and tasteless typeface of the opening credits to the endless string of videotaped talking heads that constitutes the bulk of the show's running time, *The Conservatives* looks in places more like a medium-budget industrial about the opening of a new Ford assembly plant in Nashville than a post-*Miami Vice* documentary about how the good guys finally captured the flag.

There are, in short, a lot of obstacles standing in the way of anyone who isn't viewing *The Conservatives* from the choir loft. But sympathetic viewers are likely to find *The Conservatives* highly interesting. Many of Mr. Freeman's talking heads have pithy things to say. The segments on the neocons and the New Right are exceptionally good. Younger conserva-

THE RIGHT BOOKS / CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

An American social-studies text in current use devotes thirty pages to the Pilgrims, in which the observation of the first Thanksgiving is described. However, the book includes not one word or image identifying religion as the mainspring of Puritan New England, thereby making possible the confusion of the student who returned home to explain to his mother that "Thanksgiving was when the Pilgrims gave thanks to the Indians." The woman called the principal of the school (located in a suburb of New York City) and reminded him that Thanksgiving is the occasion chosen by the Pilgrims for thanking God. He replied that "that was her opinion," and schools must confine themselves to teaching what is in the books.

In 1983, Paul C. Vitz, a professor of psychology at New York University, systematically examined ninety widely used elementary-school social-studies and high-school history texts, together with an assortment of elementary-school readers, with the intention of discovering to what degree —if any—they exhibited bias and censorship. He concluded the technical report in 1985 and proceeded to develop it into a book, recently published as *Censorship: Evidence of Bias in Our Children's Textbooks* (Servant Books, P. O. Box 8617, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48107; $6.95). I read it in a couple of hours on the afternoon of December 25, the day some Americans, Mexicans, Italians, and Others give thanks to the ancient Hebrews for inventing the Happy Holidays.

"Are public-school textbooks biased: Are they censored? The answer to both is yes." *Exempli gratia*: a) Of the texts introducing children in grades one through four to American social life past and present, "None of the books . . . contain one word referring to any religious activity in American life. . . . Not one word refers to any child or adult who prayed, or who went to church or temple. . . . The few pictures—all told there were only 11—that do refer to religious activity were distributed over sixty books and roughly 15,000 pages. . . . not one word or image shows any form of contemporary representative Protestantism." b) "In a very general way the family is often mentioned in the textbooks, but the idea that marriage is the origin and foundation of the family is never presented. . . . Nowhere is it suggested that being a mother or homemaker was a worthy and important role for a woman." c) "The fifth-grade U.S. history texts include modest coverage of religion in colonial America and in the early Southwest missions; however, the treatment of the past one hundred or two hundred years is so devoid of reference to religion as to give the impression that it has almost ceased to exist in America." d) "The sixth-grade books deal with world history or world culture, and they neglect, often to the point of serious distortion, Jewish and Christian historical contributions." (In a number of texts, the life of Mohammed gets much more coverage than the life of Jesus.) e) In books offering a selection of "role models" for their readers, "Not one contemporary role model is conservative and male, and no person from business since World War II was selected." f) Of a total of 670 stories and articles anthologized in readers from the third- through the sixth-grade levels, "A very few . . . have religion as a secondary theme, but no story features Christian or Jewish religious motivation, although one story does make American Indian religion the central theme in the life of an American white girl." There are no Horatio Alger characters in these stories, no immigrants making it, "almost no" stories showing marriage or motherhood as important or positive things—but plenty of tomboys beating the tomsawyers at their own games.

Perhaps the most striking aspect, therefore, of these texts is the air of profound unreality that pervades them. Human reality, for the authors and publishers of these works, exists only in the past: a past in which Man was made of God and worshipped Him in regular congregation according to revelatory Gospel; in which men were men and women women and everyone grateful for the fact; in which there were more aspiring John Jacob Astors than Robert F. Kennedys. Of course, the new breed of educator does not *call* it reality: He calls it a past cramfull of reaction, superstition, and error, approachable only by virtue of the impassable gulf of centuries, which reduces all its evils to a roster of quaintnesses rendered impotent by Time. As for such unfortunate relics of the Bad Old Past as Protestant Fundamentalism, *don't mention them*: The printed word has mysterious powers of reincarnation. Just keep mum, and the little Hopes of the Future won't even notice what is going on under their noses.

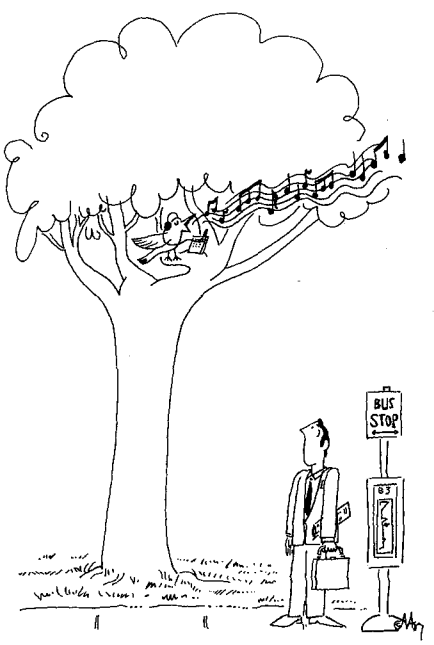
Vitz is too sophisticated to fall for the conspiracy theory: Since the days of John Dewey, that's just the way the American educational establishment has been. It is contemptible, completely hopeless. The only answer is for America to learn from the accomplishments of the other Western democracies, which, led by the Dutch, have long since permitted private schools, mainly of a religious nature, to co-exist with the public institutions of learning, share and share alike from the national till. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tives in particular will benefit from the care with which Mr. Freeman places Barry Goldwater's 1964 presidential campaign, which has very nearly slipped down the memory hole, in historical perspective.

For the rest of us, *The Conservatives* will serve as a delightful wallow, a trip down memory lane with Whit and Joe and Barry and Ron. The archival film, of which there isn't nearly enough, is remarkable. We see Whittaker Chambers, the emotion in his voice just barely under control, describing Alger Hiss as "the concealed enemy against which we are all fighting and I am fighting." We see Tony Schwarz's notorious daisy-and-atom-bomb commercial for Lyndon Johnson. (It's amazing how crude this once-revolutionary piece of negative advertising looks and sounds today.) We see Ronald Reagan making *the* speech. We see an improbably young-looking Bill Buckley running for mayor of New York and telling reporters that "if John Lindsay were any more liberal he'd be in a zoo." (Nervous laughter from the audience.)

Only the timing detracts. In the midst of the current crisis, a documentary about the triumph of American conservatism, however sympathetic, is bound to give off an acrid whiff of unintended irony. And Neal Freeman's view of conservatism is wholly retrospective, a glance over the shoulder at a vanishing Arcadia. *The Conservatives* closes with the ascension of Ronald Reagan. No young conservatives are heard from, no hint is given of the troublesome prospects for 1988. The end titles roll against footage of the Medal of Freedom ceremonies for Whittaker Chambers, Clare Boothe Luce, and Barry Goldwater. One hates to say good-bye to all that, but Mr. Freeman might have done better to pause in the midst of his nostalgic remembrances and remind the viewer that there are bad times just around the corner, that the "I" in *et in Arcadia ego* stands for death. □



THE GIMLET EYE

DOGS IN THE MANGER

D. Keith Mano

A SPOOKED German shepherd bays at the huge Gothic vault overhead, response for some still newer Episcopal prayer book, I guess. Come unto me all you who travail and are heavy laden and I will anoint your goldfish. Here, now, at St. John the Divine Pantheist—which is larger and drearier than any other cathedral in Christendom—I, oop, trip over a bird cage. Then extravasate around six chihuahuas. Past the cat huddled and miserable in a baptismal font. God's great blimp hangar is buttress to buttress full for this second annual Animal Procession and Blessing—the most recent social outreach of the New York Diocese. There are more dogs than you could throw a stick for: talk about *ecumenical.* All at once I know why the pathetic fallacy is pathetic.

I gave up being an Episcopalian almost eight years ago. In that sweet and gracious time since, I had let myself forget what Episcopal arrogance, elitism, and fat self-congratulation were like. Meanwhile, under Dean James Parks Morton, the Cathedral of Topical Relevance has made itself even more perfectly into a solid stone newscast. One bay is now dedicated to those who died from Big A. Another, naturally, commemorates the Holocaust. St. Francis is presiding over an Earth Shrine. On completion, the René Dubos Bioshelter will be warmed by solar heat. Since I left, César Chavez has spoken there: Oliver Tambo will arrive next week. There is even a memorial to Indira Gandhi. And the cathedral, a centerpiece in Upper West Side gentrification, is marketing itself with boutique cuteness—buy this rose-window jigsaw puzzle, that stained-glass crayon book. The place is active: active as some gassy corpse lurching up from a foul lake bed.

Dean Morton and his coterie love to play at being medieval: it makes them feel *authentic*, I suppose. In 1967 dear old Bishop Donegan suspended construction on his towerless and otherwise incomplete cathedral as a hollow token of solidarity with the poor. Morton is at it again. His churchyard now looks like a set for *Jude the Obscure.* Local youth have been trained in stone carving—they will surely prepare for tomorrow with yesterday's skill. You can endow a capital stone at $5,000. Ordinary ashlars go for the rock-bottom price of $100. Morton would like his colossus to become, in that medieval sense, an urban center. As *building* it might qualify: after all, Madison Square Garden is urban and central (last year Philippe Petit made a high-wire ascent to the nave roof). St. John's, with one extravaganza or another, has been busy enough. And it is a common Episcopal practice to mistake overcrowding for worship.

LIKE ST. JOAN and Son of Sam, Dean Morton has heard voices. Environmentalism is the way to go, they said. ". . . another fundamental vision struck me, a real revelation: the ecological paradigm of all life bound together in an interdependent structure . . . the medieval model of wholeness and unity reaffirmed in the new scientific model. I saw that everything that was to happen at the Cathedral—our theology, but also a full array of programs—had to reflect this stream of ecological thinking . . . I hadn't even known of the word ecology until I heard it from René Dubos." And, believe me, Morton doesn't know it yet.

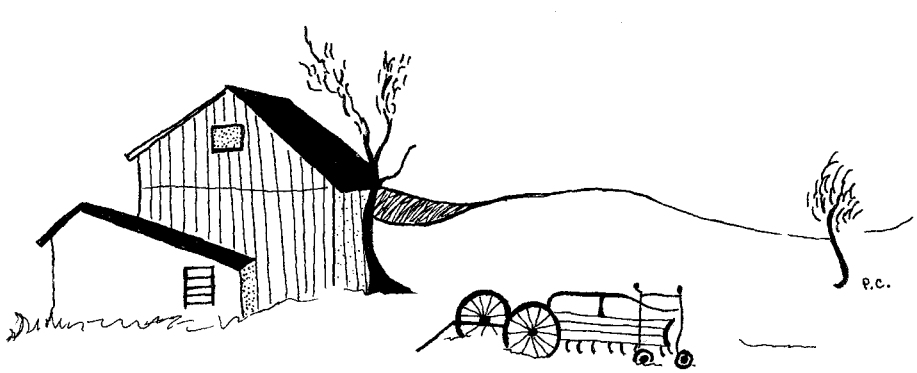
After "fascist," "ecological" has to be the word most often misappropriated in English. "Ecology" is neither more nor less than a branch of science "which treats of relations between organisms and their environment." No meliorist sense has ever been inherent in the word. You, me, and that D'Agostino supermarket could compose a viable ecological system. Eden was no more ecological than downtown Newark. But Morton and his ilk speak as though God—who has already nuked Earth once with floodwater—would

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

favor this ecological network over that. For liberalism, "ecological" has come to mean a diminution of the bad human component in nature—particularly that component which is technological and capitalist. There was no "medieval model," especially not one that might require "a whole array of programs" as in the little statist nation at 112th Street and Amsterdam Avenue. Your medieval Christian may have been more alive to a divine presence throughout nature—but this didn't prevent him either from chrismating pedestrians below with his chamber-pot detritus or from deforesting all of Europe.

Morton has sworn in his pulpit that "animals and plants have an equal right to life with men." I guess they left Genesis, Chapter One, out of the seminary syllabus again—there God gave man precedence and sway over all creation. Scripture quite aside, though, by Morton's grotesque logic the rat carrying bubonic plague would deserve a food-stamp book and his own rent-stabilized sewer. For Morton all this feeble nidnod is "The New Theology of the Earth." Hum. By comparison I preferred Bishop John A. T. Robinson and God Is Dead. To jazz it up, Morton brought in René Dubos and Bucky Fuller (we all know him, we all call him just plain Bucky). "Revelation," Morton said in an interview quoted before, "comes through creation: the Word is made flesh." Not so fast, Deano. Through creation you can appreciate God's goodness and intuit some of His essence—but revelation will come only through an *unnatural* event: vision or miracle. "You must involve scientists and artists through whom revelation of the 'new' takes place." Revelation? I reckon he meant discovery. But maybe Morton thinks the geodesic dome was given to Buckminster Fuller on Mount Sinai. Nothing sadder than an irresolute and faith-impaired clergyman sucking up to science.

The parrot, in red vestments, is providing sharp commentary. Sun has shot through stained glass: here and there it will paint a little magenta spotlight. This great circus procession is beginning. An elephant, *éminence grise*, lopes up the center aisle. He is followed by camel, pony, wolfhound, eagle, cat, and turtle. They stand before the high altar wondering—as I do—why they are there. People applaud like seals. At last Dean Morton has found his proper congregation. □



BOOKS IN BRIEF

The Mysterious Shroud, by Ian Wilson (Doubleday, 158 pp., $19.95)

FOR THE CURRENT state of knowledge on the Shroud of Turin, this is the book to read. It subsumes, if it does not entirely displace, such books as Barbet's *A Doctor at Calvary* (1953), Walsh's *The Shroud* (1963), and Wilson's own *Shroud of Turin* (1978). The present book brings the investigative story up to date and comes to important conclusions, although they are put with careful restraint. Wilson details the results of the 1978 investigation of the garment by a team of U.S. scientists expert in electronic, microscope, and computer technology; he fills us in on the results of scholarship between 1978 and the present; and he points to new investigative paths that should be followed during the next decade. He is entirely fair to skeptics. The respected scientist Dr. Walter McCrone, for example, concluded from microscope analysis that the Shroud, because it contained "paint" particles, was the work of a clever artist. Wilson gives due consideration to McCrone's thesis, but then presents the evidence that the image was not painted, at least not in any usual way; rather, the individual linen fibers underwent a delicate kind of organic decomposition. The image exists only "in" the fibers, not between them. The hypothetical artist would have had to treat each fiber separately with a one-bristle brush dipped in an unknown substance. The apparent blood on the garment *is* blood, and of the AB group. The "paint" specks that impressed McCrone could easily have been picked up by the cloth along its thousand-year route—in Byzantium, for example, where the image apparently affected the artistic representation of Jesus. The pollen, along with the artistic changes, suggests that the Shroud made its way northwest, appearing in folded form in Edessa, moving to Constantinople and thence into the hands of Crusaders, and finally, in the fourteenth century, entering the possession of the de Charnay family in France. Ian Wilson is an exemplary expositor, and he has mastered the scholarship. He makes no excessive claims, but his own opinion is manifest. The Shroud is, to a very high degree of probability, the burial garment of Jesus. Wilson awaits the carbon dating, which will now be forthcoming, since the Shroud has passed out of the possession of the House of Savoy and is the property of John Paul II and his successors. The final box will be filled in, probably by 1990. But what then? I have long been puzzled by the widespread indifference to this amazing story. I can only conclude that the indifference derives from cultural inertia—that is to say, a philistine resistance to even the idea of religious validities. JEFFREY HART

Joe & Marilyn, by Roger Kahn (Morrow, 269 pp., $16.95)

A BITTER disappointment for the couple themselves but a bonanza for the ravenous Hollywood publicity corps and the press, the romance and failed marriage of Joe DiMaggio and Marilyn Monroe continue to fascinate. Always difficult to approach, DiMaggio has steadfastly refused to discuss Miss Monroe or the marriage; he once turned down $50,000 from *McCall's* (which wanted to do an adulatory piece on Marilyn) for a 15-minute interview. Despite this handicap, Mr. Kahn is able to provide as clear a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

picture of the clouded DiMaggio-Monroe relationship as we're ever likely to get, and he tells their story with the compassion and elegance for which his writing is noted. Examining in much of the book the lives and careers of Joe DiMaggio and Marilyn Monroe prior to their first meeting, Kahn depicts two very different backgrounds: "He had family, Roman Catholicism, and very tame dances at an Italian-American social club. She had foster homes, fundamentalism, modeling, pick-ups, rape attempts, and nudity." Kahn says that what drew them together was each other's fame and simple physical attraction (he notes that both used their bodies in their work). What drove them apart was an ordinary inability to live together compatibly and the failure of each to understand and meet the needs of the other. DiMaggio thought he was marrying the most gorgeous housewife in America, not "that phenomenon of innocence and lust, blond hair and parted lips, the squirming nude on the calendar who aspired to play a Dostoyevsky heroine." Joe quickly came to despise the overtly sexual nature of his wife's movie acting, and he behaved like anything but the supportive husband. (In fact, Marilyn finally had him barred from the set.) He considered Hollywood "phony" and responsible for Marilyn's suicide. For her part, Marilyn actually thought life with Joe was boring: He didn't like to socialize, wasn't much of a conversationalist, and enjoyed television as much as anything else. She didn't understand his need for the barroom and golf-course companionship of admiring male friends who would remind him of his former greatness, nor, for that matter, did she understand the magnitude of that former greatness. (After entertaining American troops in Korea she insulted DiMaggio with the naïve remark, "Joe. You never heard such cheering." DiMaggio said, "Yes I have.") In debunking many myths (most of them regarding Marilyn's sexual activities) and in identifying many unsubstantiated rumors as such, Kahn achieves a remarkably balanced treatment. Still, he is blunt about the sex, and he shows that he understands Hollywood (its superficiality, its pandering of sex, and its immense pressures on ambitious young women like Marilyn Monroe) as well as he understands baseball. Concerning Miss Monroe's controversial death, he concludes that "a rational reading of the evidence suggests that Marilyn wanted to die more than she wanted to live." The final image of DiMaggio is one worthy of respect. Referring to Joe's rejection of the *McCall's* offer, Kahn says that although DiMaggio likes money, "some things are not for sale. Like the memory of love." MIKE SHANNON

LIVINGSTONE

(Continued from page 38)

troublesome matter in the event the emerging U.S.-Iran dialogue became public knowledge. Accordingly, Rafsanjani and his allies in Teheran applied sufficient pressure to achieve the release of three hostages, despite efforts by hard-liners to prevent it. In des-

Now, the story behind the headlines:

What is really at stake in Central America?
What does a Marxist Nicaragua mean for the future of democracy in the Western Hemisphere?
What drove high-level government officials to risk so much to aid the Contras?

The Secret War in Central America:

Sandinista Assault on World Order

by John Norton Moore

In *The Secret War in Central America*, John Norton Moore has written the definitive exposé of the Sandinista war against El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Costa Rica. Moore brings to light this "invisible war" and places it in its historical and political context: the Sandinista betrayal of the 1979 revolution, the pattern of Soviet-Cuban aggression in Central America, and the worldwide Marxist network supporting "wars of national liberation."

Please send order form and payment to:

UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS OF AMERICA
Dept. A-NR187 • 44 North Market Street • Frederick, MD 21701
(301) 694-0100

In the peculiar semantics of Marxism-Leninism, "liberation" is a term that describes subversion and enslavement—and a screen for what used to be called "aggression." In The Secret War in Central America, *John Norton Moore breaks through the double talk and exposes the true nature of Soviet-subsidized aggression by Cuba and Nicaragua against the rest of Central America. The exposure is especially necessary at this time in view of the International Court of Justice's ruling whitewashing Sandinista aggression.*

Lots of people talk about international law and Central America but few really examine the question. Professor Moore has now done so, and the spotlight he shines illuminates the situation brilliantly.

—Elliott Abrams
Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs

Price: $17.95 (cloth). *Available now.*

Order Form

The Secret War in Central America

_____ copies @ $17.95 ..... $_____
Maryland residents: Please add 5 percent sales tax ..... _____
Postage ($1.25 per book) ..... _____
Total ..... $_____
All orders must be accompanied by payment (check or money order).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Announcing...a very special edition of William F. Buckley Jr.'s

ATLANTIC HIGH

Communications Distribution, Inc., has acquired the original manuscript of Mr. Buckley's best-selling book *Atlantic High*, and is proud to announce the availability of a unique collector's edition. One page of the original manuscript, typed by the author and corrected, by hand, with his usual red-ink pen, is included with each copy of this special edition. It consists of an original first-run copy of *Atlantic High* itself, handsomely bound in fine leather and stamped in gold, which is encased in a sturdy box covered in white sailcloth (just like the real thing). The box contains a large pull-out drawer in which you will have the manuscript page—autographed by the author—in a plastic cover; you may preserve the page in this cover, or remove it easily for framing. The handsome original four-color dust-jacket of *Atlantic High* is also enclosed in the drawer—it can also be framed.

Each boxed copy of this special Manuscript Edition is therefore unique; the owner will be the *only* one to possess that particular manuscript page. We believe such an edition is a first in publishing history. The cost is $300 a copy, while they last (obviously the supply cannot exceed the limited number of original pages). You may order now directly from the address below.

Write to:

Communications Distribution, Inc.

150 East 35th Street
New York, N.Y. 10016

peration, the hard-liners ordered three additional hostages to be seized this past September and October, in hopes of derailing the emerging relationship. Thus, the hostage issue became merged with the secret diplomacy with Iran. However, far from constituting ransom to achieve the freedom of the American hostages, the military goods provided Iran were part of a rapprochement process designed to deliver Iran from the clutches of the Soviet Union and to block the Soviet drive to the Persian Gulf.

It is true that an effort was made to ransom the CIA's Beirut Station Chief, William Buckley, although the money was to come from private sources. As the agency's top counter-terrorism expert in the Middle East, Buckley was privy to a great deal of information that would be extremely valuable to terrorists in the region and to their state patrons. Accordingly, when it was learned that he was being tortured by his captors, it was deemed vital that his release be secured by any means possible. Indeed, some highly placed U.S. officials believe that the information extracted from Buckley under torture was what enabled the terrorists to stay one step ahead of the United States in the TWA 847 hijacking and several other subsequent attacks. But attempts to win Buckley's release were always a sideshow next to the larger issue of developing U.S. relations with Iran.

In the final analysis, if Ollie North's description of the events precipitating the secret U.S. arms shipments to Iran holds up, then the "Iran arms scandal" could turn out to have been one of the Administration's finest hours rather than its foreign-policy nadir. □

D'SOUZA

(Continued from page 41)

for *Moscow News* based in New York, is "angry" at Reagan's policies because "he is making it tough for our security." By contrast, he says, "I have a lot of sympathy for the policies of Edward Kennedy."

But Kavaliauskas is pessimistic about Kennedy's chances of making it to the White House. He is not hopeful about the Democratic victories in the U.S. Senate either, foreseeing "no important changes," because in the U.S. "the President decides all things. Congress poses no significant opposition." He cites as evidence the failed effort by some liberal congressmen to prevent the Administration's deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles in Europe.

In 1988, Kavaliauskas says, "I want to see a man in the White House who thinks about the future." Jack Kemp and George Bush are definitely not on his list of candidates. "No, no. They will simply extend the policy of this Administration."

Unlike some of his colleagues, Kavaliauskas does not follow the American media or the workings of American political lobbies very closely. One person who stands clear in his mind, however, is Carl Sagan, a "scientist with a very clear head and a tremendous brain."

Iona Andronov of *Literaturnaya Gazeta* does take an interest in the American media. Of *The Progressive* he says, "It's on our side but it doesn't have many readers like *Time* or *Newsweek*." *Time*'s interview with Gorbachev sticks out in Andronov's mind, though, as an "objective" account that "presented the Soviet leadership in a very attractive way."

Andronov finds two sources of comfort in the hostile conservative milieu: the Institute for Policy Studies and Alexander Cockburn. "IPS is quite left-wing," he concedes. Is it sometimes too extreme? "No, I wouldn't say that. What I've read from IPS I've agreed with. I love Saul Landau's book on Orlando Letelier." On Cockburn: "I read him regularly in *The Nation* and *In These Times*." Asked what he thought about Cockburn's remark, "If ever a country deserved rape it is Afghanistan," Andronov is taken aback. "I won't disagree with Mr. Alexander because I respect him too much," he says. "You must have taken his point out of context. He would not use the word 'rape.' He knows that we are trying to establish a new society in Afghanistan, . . . to distribute land to peasants, to educate women, to modernize, and so on."

While the Soviets are clearly enamored of the policies of the American Left, they are less impressed by its arguments. Iona Andronov, for example, finds strategic defense "very dangerous for my country." Is it dangerous for America, too, as liberals here are saying? "No, no," Andronov says; he asks how an American missile de-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fense can possibly be viewed as dangerous for America.

Aleksei Burmistenko is a Washington-based correspondent for the Soviet publications *Trud* and *Sovietskaya Kultura*. He has read American reports showing that SDI can't work. But he isn't betting on them. Soviet opposition, he says, is based on the realization that "some significant part like the lasers might work."

Burmistenko says it would be "most desirable" for the United States to stop giving military aid to the Third World and start giving economic aid. Confronted with the American liberal argument that economic aid, by helping to reduce poverty, could undercut Communist sympathies in those countries, Burmistenko is baffled. "That's a wrong assumption," he protests. "It's not true to begin with." Is it possible, however, that American military aid to countries like El Salvador can turn out to be counterproductive from the point of view of American interests? "I don't quite understand the argument," says Burmistenko. "How can military aid given by the U.S. [have such an effect]?" Burmistenko also ridicules the idea that the U.S. drove Nicaragua into the arms of the Soviet Union. "Originally the U.S. government encouraged revolution in Nicaragua," he counters. Burmistenko speaks favorably of PBS, saying, "I believe public television shows objective accounts of the Soviet Union." But he complains that PBS has a "limited viewing audience" and "limited funding." Sharon Rockefeller would like that.

SOVIET PROPAGANDISTS do not, of course, dwell on these differences of approach, perhaps because of the realization that this would discredit the liberal claim to have a more effective strategy for thwarting Communism and Soviet objectives. Instead, the Soviet media and their commentators concentrate on the policy recommendations of American liberals with which they have no quarrel.

Vladimir Gerasichev of Moscow Radio and Television outlines some of the positive forces he sees in American society. He is currently very high on Democratic Senator Claiborne Pell. "Pell called the Contras in Nicaragua 'terrorists,' " he says. "That is the right word for them. I have used it in my own writings."

The Catholic bishops, Gerasichev says, "have adopted a very constructive role in American society." He cites SANE, Mobilization for Survival, and anti-SDI groups as representing "sober-minded people in the U.S. [who] realize that it is time for their country to stop stockpiling weapons."

Most Soviet commentators in the United States seem unremittingly hostile to the people in the Reagan Administration, but not Gerasichev. While he cites Richard Perle as a very anti-Soviet figure, "George Shultz definitely has a more reasonable approach. That, at least, is the impression given by the media. What is in his mind, it is harder to tell."

Gerasichev concludes with a brief analysis of the candidates for 1988. Jack Kemp: "He's a big supporter of SDI." Definitely out. Mario Cuomo: "He's a nice person. He knows what he is doing. He could make a good President." Gary Hart: "I'm encouraged that he is not putting an emphasis on military spending."

Vitaly Gan is a *Pravda* correspondent in this country. He is a particular aficionado of Carl Sagan, whom he calls "reasonable" and "brilliant." He benefits "enormously from the Union of Concerned Scientists." He used to like the *Washington Post*, but of late "the editorials have become more hostile to my country."

Mary McGrory of the *Post*, however, is an exception. "I share most of her views. She seems okay to me." Her Reykjavik analysis struck Gan as especially astute: "I agree with her views of the American delegation at Reykjavik. I couldn't have put it better. . . . She reveals the insincerity of the American position."

"The country has become more conservative," Gan complains. (He has been here off and on since the 1970s.) Then, putting a Soviet spin on a typical Washington observation, he says, "I have found out, to my satisfaction, that there are friendly people [to the Soviet Union] outside the Reagan circles—church groups, universities, just plain folks. They're okay. There is life outside the Beltway."

Gan is looking forward to the 1988 election. He won't comment as a Soviet, but "if I were an American I would prefer a Democrat. I would vote for Gary Hart." With a sigh, Gan concludes, "Eight years of conservatism is enough." □

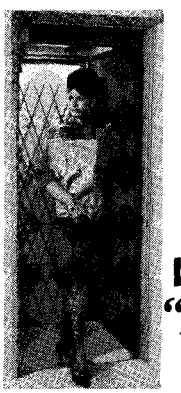
Call for any current book

● Amex, MasterCard, Visa or check.
● We ship immediately, anywhere in the world. ● Gift wrapping available.
● Mail orders welcome.

BOOK CALL®

1-800-255-2665
In CT or Worldwide (203) 966-5470
59 Elm Street, New Canaan, CT 06840

Nicola Paone
ITALIAN RESTAURANT
"Beyond every horizon, there is something *different*"
—*Nicola Paone*
207 East 34th Street • New York
(212) 889-3239



If you shouldn't climb stairs INSTALL AN "Elevette"

"Elevette" – the modern home elevator – can carry three adults or a wheelchair patient and attendant. It's custom built to the size best suited for your needs and serves two or more floors of your home.
Tax deductible when recommended by a doctor.
SEND FOR FREE LITERATURE
Fully describes and illustrates "Elevette". Also, StairLIFT, the budget-priced, single-seat passenger lift for the stairs.
INCLINATOR COMPANY OF AMERICA
DEPT. 27
P. O. BOX 1557
HARRISBURG, PA 17105-1557

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BELIEVE IT OR NOT

NEW YORK, DEC. 15

(Scene: The Situation Room, a meeting of the National Security Council. Date: April 1, 1986.)

THE PRESIDENT *(presiding)*: Gentlemen, I've asked Will Ball here, our congressional-liaison expert, to join us, to give us his, er, forecast of what we can expect from Congress on our request for appropriations to aid the Contras.

BALL: Well, sir—gentlemen—as I've told you, Mr. President, I think the situation is turning around. A lot of things have happened since Congress refused a year ago to authorize military aid for the Contras. For one thing, everyone who's gone down to Nicaragua comes back and reports exactly what we've been saying for a couple of years now. The Cuban-Soviet militarization is in high gear, the gradual totalitarianization of life there is something they can't hide. They're getting ready to expel a bishop. They're about to close down the only functioning opposition paper, they're drafting the kids, they're mounting a huge military operation, they're backing subversion in El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala. The public is seeing the point, and I've been counting the votes in the House, and I think we're going to get the okay for a hundred million, maybe more.

SECSTATE: I agree with Will, I think Congress is coming around, in fact I'd be willing to count on it: When the big vote comes in, we'll have a clear majority in favor of our helping out the Contras.

SECDEFENSE: Yeah, fine. But we're talking about something that isn't scheduled to come to a vote for three, four months. The question is: Can our guys hold out until then? All we're authorized to give them right now is Band-Aids. They don't need Band-Aids sitting in Honduras and Costa Rica without BB guns. I mean, you can't mount a military movement by saying they're going to get defensive and offensive arms every third time the moon is full.

PRESIDENT: Well, what can be done to bridge that gap, I mean, are we helpless?

NSC ADVISOR: Well, sir, you are the Commander-in-Chief, and discretionary authority goes with that office, and, well, there are assets out there, I mean, military assets that you could—

PRESIDENT: Yeah, I know I have discretionary powers, but these are usually thought of in terms of crisis-use. I mean, if we knew the Sandinistas were going to drop a bomb on El Salvador, or, what the hell, on Key West, I could go ahead and nuke Managua, but that isn't the kind of problem we're talking about.

NSC ADVISOR: Yes, sir, I know that. But it happens that we've got some, well, floating assets, you know, noncommitted and not accounted for, stuff left over from the Iran business. My assistant, Colonel North, known to all of you gentlemen, is here by my invitation. I'd like to ask him to comment on one possibility.

NSC AIDE: Well, sir, there's a fund in Switzerland, the proceeds of the Iran arrangement, ten, twenty, thirty million, that kind of thing. But probably enough to fuel the immediate military needs of the Contras.

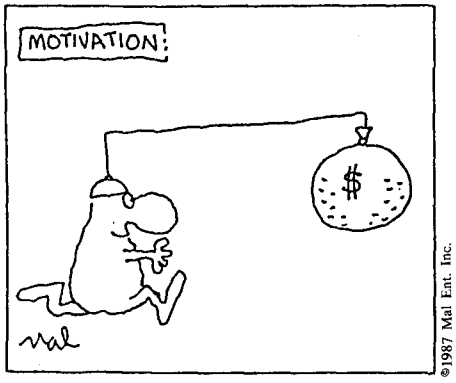
PRESIDENT *(turning to NSC Advisor)*: We're getting into technicalities here, John, that I'm not equipped to cope with, I mean, even if we know that Congress is going to back us up down the road, I don't know that that means we can, well, you know, anticipate it, if you see what I mean.

NSC ADVISOR: Yes, sir, those are legal questions, and that isn't my specialty either. I'm a military man, like Ollie, who's trained to try to make things work that are, well, national objectives.

(NSC Aide elbows NSC Advisor, who turns his face slightly to his assistant, and imperceptibly nods his head.)

PRESIDENT: Well, it's a problem. There's hardly any use in Congress's voting military aid to the Contras if they're wiped out by the time the aid comes along . . . John, work on the problem, and see if you can come up with a plan that, well, that satisfies all the problems, you know, the legal problems, the diplomatic problems, the political problems. We've got plenty of those. If you think that's complicated, you should sit in on one of those meetings where you've got a producer, a director, agents of the stars, the labor-union people, the money men—but before you know it, you've got *Gone with the Wind* . . . Well, let me know how you can crack it, if you can crack it. Got to go. The king of someplace or other is arriving in a couple of minutes.

(All present rise, exit the President.) □



©1987 Mal Ent. Inc.

THE CASE FOR THE PROSECUTION

NEW YORK, DEC. 29

IT ISN'T TOO early to sit down, put one's feet up on the desk, lower the eyelids, and ask: What exactly is it that the public prosecutors want out of all this?

Why not let George McGovern speak for them? His qualifications are pretty good. He is certainly entitled to laugh at the notion that McGovernism was killed in 1972. Quite wrong. It didn't rise Antaeus-like from the ground in the way that Goldwaterism did, sweeping to power 16 years after its great defeat in 1964. At least, intermediary political signs suggest that in 1988 McGovernism will not come to power. Halfway between Goldwater's defeat and Reagan's triumph we had Nixon, which was a step in the right direction in both senses of the word. Halfway between McGovern's defeat and 1988 we had Mondale, who carried the state of Minnesota. Narrowly.

Speaking in San Francisco last month, George McGovern told a crowd of three thousand, Democrats and Republicans in approximately equal numbers, that Ronald Reagan was not fit to govern. He began with that charge, so to speak the apex, rather like the prosecuting attorney who begins his address to the jury by saying that the defendant should be executed, and then proceeds slowly to build the case against him.

The prosecutor's technique is interesting, because normally you begin the other way, as the prosecution did in dealing with Richard Nixon in 1973-74. the gradual ac-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cumulation of evidence, over a period that stretched week after week, month after month, until the noose was tight and, one dramatic day, the trap door fell open.

McGovern's approach is the pattern being followed by the hot-blooded detractors. Ernest Hollings of South Carolina is an example from the Senate (he judged Reagan to be guilty of lying before the second day's hearings had begun). In the press, Anthony Lewis would serve as an example. And unquestionably the posse got off to a providential start because of the confused performance of the President on November 19, the worst public appearance he ever made. Why not, said George McGovern in effect, take that performance and draw from it two conclusions, take your choice. The first is that the President knew all about it, in which case he is a liar and a criminal. The alternative is that he knew nothing about it, in which case he is not master of his own household, has become merely a White House fixture, and under the circumstances is not fit to govern.

George McGovern began to enunciate his syllabus of grievances. The first of these is that Mr. Reagan is the first President who has not in recent years concluded an arms deal with the Soviet Union. And why is it that he has not done so? Because he does not really wish to disarm. And why does he not really wish to disarm? Because he is a creature of the Pentagon and of those who desire an arms race. And what is the result of being a creature of the Pentagon and of the arms race? Well, it means, for one thing, the possibility of a nuclear war, and, for another, it means that we are gradually starving out education, students, the poor, and—very important—environmentalism.

How was it that so many people voted for Reagan, enthusiastically in 1980, and overwhelmingly in 1984? Because, McGovern explained, he is a likable fellow. He knows all the endearing tricks of the professional, besides which in his own way he is amiable . . . He exercised (careful now, use just the right word) a kind of . . . hypnotic effect on the voters. But never mind, the polls have made it clear, time after time after time, that though they like Reagan, they do not like Reaganism. And now that they have come to realize—listen to this, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, because this is the main point—that the man the American people voted for is simply incompetent to discharge his office, we can expect the dissolution of the Reagan Revolution, and we can make our way back to the peace-loving, progressive, collectivist social orientation that began with FDR, and took us through the years of Truman, Kennedy, and Lyndon Johnson.

So: We begin by postulating Reagan's incompetence. That is the first page. The last page is the verdict: Reagan is through. Preferably, he resigns—impeachment is of course not entirely out of the question, for instance if it is established that he lied about a crime he sanctioned. But the important thing is to think of him as, well, as the man who attends the ceremonial functions during the next two years, while a Democratic Congress runs the country.

We close our case, your honor. □

THE SEARCH FOR RACISM

NEW YORK, JAN. 2

You can't quite escape a furtive little smile over one of the exchanges Mayor Koch of New York got into over the weekend. "Those people who beat and ultimately caused the death of a black man," said the mayor to the congregation of Our Lady of Grace Roman Catholic Church in Howard Beach, Queens, "—they don't represent you, they don't. Absolutely not."

"So why are you here?" an irritated lady asked.

The mayor's mission to Howard Beach was not a bit successful, surprising many who have always thought that the mayor's touch was unerring in dealing with middle-class working white communities. But one doubts a million-dollar-a-year PR expert on Madison Avenue could have crafted words exactly appropriate to the occasion, and to the feelings it had stimulated.

What had happened, a week or so earlier, was that three young black males were walking through the area (their car had broken down). They were chased by an ugly little posse of young white men, and one of the blacks, attempting to race to safety across a highway, was knocked down by an automobile and killed. Mayor Koch had denounced the episode as on the order of a "lynching," and the citizens assembled last Sunday at Our Lady of Grace Church evidently resented any deductions on such a scale being made at the expense of Howard Beach.

In a lead editorial on the affair, the *New York Times* struggled for a little perspective. It is true, said the *Times*, that there is reason for being more fearful of young blacks than of, say, young whites, or Orientals. "National surveys estimate that blacks commit robbery at a rate ten times that of whites." But two observations flow from this figure. The first is that most of the victims of black crime are themselves blacks; the second, that however many blacks disproportionately commit crimes, there are those who do not commit crimes, and in the absence of clear and incriminating evidence, civilized folk treat others on the presumption that their intentions are innocent.

The subject came up, in a different frame, in Washington, D.C., a few months ago when a jewelry store whose doors are kept locked as a matter of course—permitting the manager to sight-examine the person seeking admission—was detected automatically declining admission to young black men. The putative reason for doing so, clearly, was that a twenty-year-old black seeking admission to a jewelry store was likelier to want to steal a diamond bracelet than to buy one. Or, put in economic lingo, that the number of dollars that would flow into the jewelry store from sales to young blacks is presumptively smaller than the number of dollars that would flow out of the store from thefts. The argument became something of an intellectual seizure in Washington, and there were those who held that biological man is almost everywhere guided to some extent by street-wise probabilities. Bernhard Goetz shot four young men who asked him for money in a subway car, and lo! it transpired that they all had criminal records.

What is there to learn from the Howard Beach episode?

1. No abstract circumstances can justify an assault on three young blacks moving unprovocatively through a white neighborhood. And a neighborhood that breeds young white men who chase such blacks with sticks should spend more time at Our Lady of Grace.

2. It is simply not correct, the evidence of one's senses confirms, that race prejudice is increasing in America—the fiery contention (as expected) of Benjamin Hooks, director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. How does one know this? Simple: by the ratings of Bill Cosby's television show, and the sales of his books. A nation simply does not idolize members of a race that nation despises.

3. On the other hand, there is unquestionably resentment by the white community not only of the black crime rate the *New York Times* cites, so heavily disproportionate. The principal resentment has to do with the scarcity of publicized black reprimands of such behavior. I say "publicized" because I do not doubt that just as it is true that the majority of young blacks would walk through Howard Beach intending no mischief, so the majority of black moralists publicly deplore the high rate of black crime and the incredible rate of black illegitimacy (the two are of course related). But these are not the black leaders we hear from in the media. Those we do hear from are the kind who are given to calling Ronald Reagan a racist.

This is what the gentlefolk attending Mass at Our Lady of Grace Church were, I would guess, primarily resentful of. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Employment Opportunities

PRIVATE ELEMENTARY-SCHOOL *administrator.* Strong general academic background is needed in addition to experience in elementary education. The school stresses intellectual and moral formation on a beautiful Midwest campus. Send *résumé to NR Box 4400.*

WASHINGTON-BASED ACTIVIST foundation is seeking applicants for the following positions: Administrative Assistant, well-organized person with good writing and telephone skills for detail work; *Business Manager, to maintain established bookkeeping system,* analyze proposals for cost-cutting possibilities (must have basic experience, school of common sense preferred over business degree); Project Executive, experienced conservative activist with good writing and telephone skills to coordinate and advise activists in field. Send résumé, writing sample, and salary requirements to: CAF, 1326 G Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

DOZENS OF JOBS in public policy for conservatives. Full range of opportunities available. No fee. Special need for secretaries. Send résumé to Helen Sanders, Director, Job & Talent Bank, The Leadership Institute, 8001 Braddock Road, Springfield, Va. 22151.

Educational Opportunities

GET A HEAD START *in your public-policy career.* Dozens of internships available—full range of opportunities. Write or send résumé to Helen Sanders, Director, Job & Talent Bank, The Leadership Institute, 8001 Braddock Road, Springfield, Va. 22151.

BACHELOR'S, MASTER'S, DOCTORATE. Guide to colleges offering nonresidential degree programs through independent home study. Accredited, economical, accelerated programs. Credit given for prior accomplishments and work experience. Free detailed brochure. Write: Dr. John Bear, P.O. Box 11447-NR12, Marina del Rey, Calif. 90295.

CATHOLIC LIBERAL EDUCATION. Thomas Aquinas College offers serious intellectual discipline and a close-knit community of students and teachers. Classics from Aristotle to Einstein replace textbooks; classroom discussions replace lectures; elective system replaced by an integrated, comprehensive study of mathematics, experimental science, language, music, history, literature, philosophy, and theology. Classes do not exceed 20 students. Financial-aid program. Applications from students with previous college studies encouraged. Endorsed by M. Stanton Evans, Russell Kirk, Malcolm Muggeridge. Accredited by Western Association of Schools and Colleges. For information write to: Director of Admissions-NR, Thomas Aquinas College, 10000 North Ojai Road, Santa Paula, Calif. 93060; or call 805-525-4417.

Situations Wanted

AMBITIOUS AND PERSONABLE WOMAN, mid 20s, B.A. International Relations, 1984, seeks position requiring analytical, inter-personal, and writing skills. Travel welcome. Single and willing to relocate. Write NR Box 4403.

NR TRANS-O-GRAM AUTHOR, Kem Putney, seeks management position in Houston. Write P.O. Box 1251, Spring, Tex. 77383.

SINGLE MALE, mid 20s, with M.B.A., seeks challenging career in growth industry with travel. Bilingual; energetic, optimistic, independent, responsible. Excellent background. Write NR Box 4404.

Real Estate

HISTORIC TEXAS LAND, near Big Bend Park and Texas Wild Life Refuge. 640 acres. $320,000 cash. One of the most beautiful areas in the world. Near Davis Mountains. Qualified purchaser contact owner, John J. Schaler III, 317-546-8778.

PARADISE FOREVER. Sunsets on the Pacific; New England in Hawaii. For sale: cozy retirement cottage with 3 bedrooms, 2½ baths. 16,500 sq. ft. Lot with ocean frontage on island of Maui, available now, $575,000. Call owner-occupant: 808-879-4117.

Financial

TAX-DEFERRED GROWTH with Single Premium Life. Details, call Mr. Figlear. 201-898-1930.

Art

ICONS; ROMANESQUE, GOTHIC ART. $1 brochure. Studio Didymus, Box 481, River Forest, Ill. 60305.

Vacation

TWO-BEDROOM CONDO. Golf course, central Florida. 1 hour from Disney World and Gulf beaches. Trade equal time at Colorado or New England ski resort or East Coast beach. Trade references. Phone Mr. Webb, 813-646-5711.

DISCOVER ALABAMA'S REDNECK RIVIERA and white sandy beaches. Cottage rentals. 205-947-7226.

HEARKEN TO THE WAVES calling. Quiet ocean-side triplex: two bedrooms, 2½ bathrooms, garage, and pool. New Smyrna (endless) Beach, just north of Cape Canaveral. A short walk to the Catholic and Episcopal churches. As a reward for righteousness, deduct your year's subscription to *NR from each month's rent.* 904-427-5221.

BE GUESTS in our home on remote arctic lake in Brooks Range. Hiking, rafting, canoeing, photography. 1-4 visitors. Adventuresome senior citizens welcome. Hosts: university professor/teacher-wife. Write NR Box 4393.

Wanted

RIGHT-WING ROCK BAND seeks financier for album project. K.G.B., P.O. Box 606, Stillwater, Minn. 55082.

CURIOUS GRANDDAUGHTER needs translator capable of reading old German script. Over 100 pages family letters, documents, dated 1850s, 1880s. K. Heck, 2603 Hodges, Midland, Tex. 79705.

For Sale

THE AWARD-WINNING Adam Smith necktie—gold on navy blue or gold on burgundy. $22.50, postage paid. VISA and MasterCard. The Decatur Shop, One Decatur Place, North Adams, Mich. 49262-0277. Telephone 517-287-5888.

A POWERFUL BURGLARY DETERRENT. "Remarkably effective results" since 1981. Protect your family, have peace of mind. 2¼" by 3½" self-adhesive, quality vinyl decals. Apply inside windows facing out. Give warning that your premises are protected by high-technology alarm systems. Also very suitable for automotive, industrial, commercial application. Professional appearance. 3-color. New, fade resistant, high visual impact. Nationally applicable. If you already have burglar alarms, these decals will emphasize the fact. 8 decals $10, 3 decals $5. Check or money order. Immediate postpaid delivery. Refund for any reason. We are registered in Passaic County Clerk's office. The Lakeland Works, P.O. Box 230X, Pompton Lakes, N.J. 07442.

National Review Accepts . . .

classified advertisements for personal services, items wanted or for sale, jobs sought or available, houses or apartments for sale or rent, and miscellaneous subjects of a comparable nature. Invitations to personal relationships must specify at least 3 interests. National Review does not accept political advertisements of any kind, or advertisements which are solicitations for funds. National Review reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason. Rates per insertion: $1.00 per word, minimum 10 words, plus $2.25 for box number. Frequency discounts: 4 times, 90¢ per word; 6 times, 85¢ per word; 8 times or more, 80¢ per word. Text accompanied by full payment must be received 35 days before cover date. Responses to box numbers will be forwarded. Address Classified Director, National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York 10016.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

R[OBERT] SOUTHWELL:

The Burning Babe

As I in hoary winter night
stood shivering in the snow,
Surprised was I with sudden heat
which made my heart to glow;
And lifting up a fearful eye to
view what fire was near
A pretty Babe all burning bright
did in the air appear.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Services

SCHOLARSHIPS/GRANTS FOR COLLEGE are available. Millions go unclaimed yearly. Receive details by calling 800-USA-1221, ext. 0627.

PROFESSIONAL EXPLAINER! Over 170 different corporations have hired me to make dull things sound exciting, and complicated things sound simple. I write speeches, brochures, sales and training films, seminars, direct mail, etc. For information contact Marc Bockmon Inc., 214-569-3155.

RESEARCH/WRITING. All fields. Confidential. Reasonable rates. Research Service, Box 48862, Niles, Ill. 60648. 312-774-5284.

DR. FRANK P. PANZARELLA STATES: "Cosmetic surgery isn't the only way to look younger." The Avocation Skin Care Method will help keep time and nature's elements from taking their toll on your skin. Some of the rich and famous have been using products developed by Dr. Panzarella over the past years, and now it is your turn. Call Dr. Panzarella or his assistant Anne today (800-527-0392 outside N.Y.S., or 516-752-0333 in N.Y.S.) and order both the day and night creams. $22 for both products. All credit cards accepted, with a 20-day refund guaranteed by Dr. Panzarella. Mail checks to Dr. Frank P. Panzarella, PHD Skin Research Laboratories, P.O. Box 2628, Southampton, N.Y. 11968.

Literary

AMERICAN HERITAGE, complete hardcover set, 192 issues, 30-year index. $750. K. L. Fitch, RR 2, Lexington, Ill. 61753. 309-747-2980.

WALT BUESCHER'S Library of Humor. P-H paperback. $8.50 ppd. 1,421 humorous items, 398 topics, 3 indexes. Public speaker Walt Buescher, P.O. Box 1129, Pigeon Forge, Tenn. 37863.

OLD BOOKSCOUT locates out-of-print books. Write "Greenmantle," P.O. Box 1324NR, Culpeper, Va. 22701-6324.

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKFINDER. Send requests to 2035NR Everding, Eureka, Calif. 95501.

POLITICAL BOOKS! Always buying and selling books on political figures/movements. Send S.A.S.E. with wants or books to sell. The Last Hurrah Bookshop, 937 Memorial Avenue, Williamsport, Pa. 17701.

BOOKSTOCK FINDS BOOKS. Free search. Box 942N, South Orleans, Mass. 02662.

Personal

(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be another man's straitjacket. NR reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. —Pub.)

PENNSYLVANIA. Conservative, Catholic, single, pro-life female nurse, 28, college-educated, seeks correspondence with single, educated Catholic male, 25-35, who enjoys hiking, gardening, *Conservative Digest*, *NCR*, classic movies. Write NR Box 4407.

GIRL VIOLINIST, 36, basketball player, Jewish, neoconservative, seeks boy pianist, non-smoker. Objective: beautiful music (Dvorak, Mozart, Vivaldi). Alexandria, Va. Write NR Box 4405.

CATHOLIC MALE, 30, 5'10", slender, enjoys travel, languages, literature, seeks traditionally inclined female, 22-30. Write NR Box 4406.

SOUTHERN BELLE, intelligent, secure, athletic, fun-loving, 49, loves sailing, skiing, books, laughing, music, good conversation, world affairs, travel. Seeking correspondence with and meeting gentleman with similar interests. Write NR Box 4409.

NYC WASP MALE, 52, would like to meet smokeless and petless lady interested in travel, country inns, American history, flea markets, national parks. Hope to have a companion to attend the 1989 Republican inauguration. Write NR Box 4410.

NORTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA; conservative, Catholic father seeks Christian, college-educated gentleman, 26-34, for possible courtship with (almost) 20-year-old daughter. Beautiful, brown-eyed redhead, college student, energetic, wide variety of interests. Write NR Box 4402.

TRADITIONAL CATHOLIC, never-married, successful businessman, mid-30s, seeking a 25-35-year-old good-looking, educated, never-married, virtuous Catholic girl for wife and family. If interested write NR Box 4397.

MIDWESTERN MALE, 40, never-married, professional; enjoys travel, reading, sports, good conversation. Located Indianapolis area. Seeks female professional, 30-45, with similar interests for correspondence and relationship. Write NR Box 4408.

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS' EXCHANGE. Nationwide link between unattached music lovers. Write CMLE, Box 31, Pelham, N.Y. 10803.

UNMARRIED CATHOLICS, nationwide, huge unlimited membership. Shrines of England Tour, July (non-members welcome). Sparks, Box 872, Troy, N.Y. 12181.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS gets the cultured single, widowed, or divorced acquainted. Nationwide. Established 1970—3,000 members. Box 117, Gradyville, Pa. 19039. 215-358-5049.

Miscellaneous

MILITARY REUNIONS. 2nd Infantry Division—January 15-18, 1987. 3rd Infantry Division—January 22-25, 1987. 4th Infantry Division—January 29-February 1, 1987. 8th Infantry Division—February 5-8, 1987. 10th Mountain and 10th Infantry Division—February 12-15, 1987. 29th Infantry Division—February 19-22, 1987. 34th Infantry Division—February 26-March 1, 1987. 37th Infantry Division—March 5-8, 1987. 40th Infantry Division—March 12-15, 1987. Contact Phillip Wernick, P.O. Box 14461, Philadelphia, Pa. 19115. Telephone: 215-676-7748, or 215-673-4489.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS. Send lengthy sample to Mary McMorrow, 8310 Spicebush Trail, Liverpool, N.Y. 13090. $14, 2/$25.

FOR SALE OR CHARITABLE donation: *National Review*: Volume One, Number 15, to current. (Nearly complete.) White, 112 Newell Court, Menands, N.Y. 12204.

NEW YORK CATHOLIC FORUM is an organization sponsoring lectures, discussion groups, short courses, spiritual talks, etc. for young Catholic adults in NYC area. For information call 718-468-2815 or write NYCF, 86 Riverside Drive, Dept. A, New York, N.Y. 10024.

NEW YORK BABY-SAVING CENTER needs pro-life counselors and volunteers. Expectant moms and their unborn infants depend on us. Send brief bio to NR Box 4224.

"TRIDENTINE" MASS ON VIDEOCASSETTE in color. Complete Low Mass in Latin, with explanatory introduction and traditional hymns. Professionally recorded, 1 hour and 20 minutes, by the Catholic Traditionalist Movement. Only $60 a print, VHS only. First-class mailing included. Mail orders: Video Mass, Box 10, Westbury, N.Y. 11590.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS IN DEPTH. Send full page of writing and $20 to Elisabeth King, 121 Madison Avenue, 3A, New York, N.Y. 10016.

HOW TO LOOK FOR, find, and keep the best babysitter. Send $3.95 check or m.o. to P.O. Box 115, San Pablo, Calif. 94806-0115.

FATHER JOSEPH CHEN, 78, and 100 other priests are still imprisoned in Mainland China. For information write: Free the Fathers, 1120 Applewood, Signal Mountain, Tenn. 37377.

NR CLASSIFIED ADS

SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER!

Pay for two ads— get a third ad FREE. Advance payment (minimum 2 ads)

Rates: $1.00 per word $2.25 for NR box number

Enclosed $ _____

Mail to:
Classified Director
National Review
150 East 35th Street
New York, N.Y. 10016

AD COPY:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRANS-O-GRAM / KEM PUTNEY

DEFINITIONS

A. Mr. Ed had it (2 words) — 133 91 148 123 4 53 99 40 156 75

B. Federal facility noted for its great bread? — 173 186 47 57 197 88 16 189 117 26 / 72

C. Transport for those on the rise — 181 161 193 115 10 29 179 67

D. Producing cats and dogs? — 33 106 164 81 60 191 126

E. Ability to cut through the bull — 124 143 110 95 150 158 135 12 64 84 / 1 49

F. Hotel eye-opener? (2 words) — 69 38 18 180 120 149 89 103 5 195

G. Relative much needed on Capitol Hill? (2 words) — 94 43 172 25 147 3 138 59 185 182 / 77

H. Windbag's residue — 32 90 66 132 160 11 144 175 46

I. Singapore transport (var.) — 83 50 171 13 101 27 162 190

J. You can monkey around with this primate — 97 108 70 145 166 7 54 28 125

K. The best kind is standing — 194 51 80 139 39 15 112

L. One kind of salon — 174 23 98 128 63 155 113

M. Western state — 114 24 52 168 87 165

N. Feed for slaughter — 6 85 163 30 73 121

O. Denture wearer's onetime guardian angel (2 words) — 157 19 2 146 31 107 65 170 130 82

P. Waver — 9 152 48 187 122 76 102 136

Q. Educated guess — 142 96 184 154 119 55 71 22

R. Woe to the student caught doing this prior to an exam! — 192 169 104 21 68 137 41

S. Originator of "Dutch Boy" paint? — 176 34 79 140 92 58 17 153 105

T. Beginning — 61 118 86 177 42

U. Like some hooks — 44 111 35 151 129 183

V. Member of the radio audience — 196 100 36 178 78 14 141 56

W. An airline — 116 131 8 93 45 188 62

X. Union of a sort — 159 167 20 74 109 134 37 127

DIRECTIONS

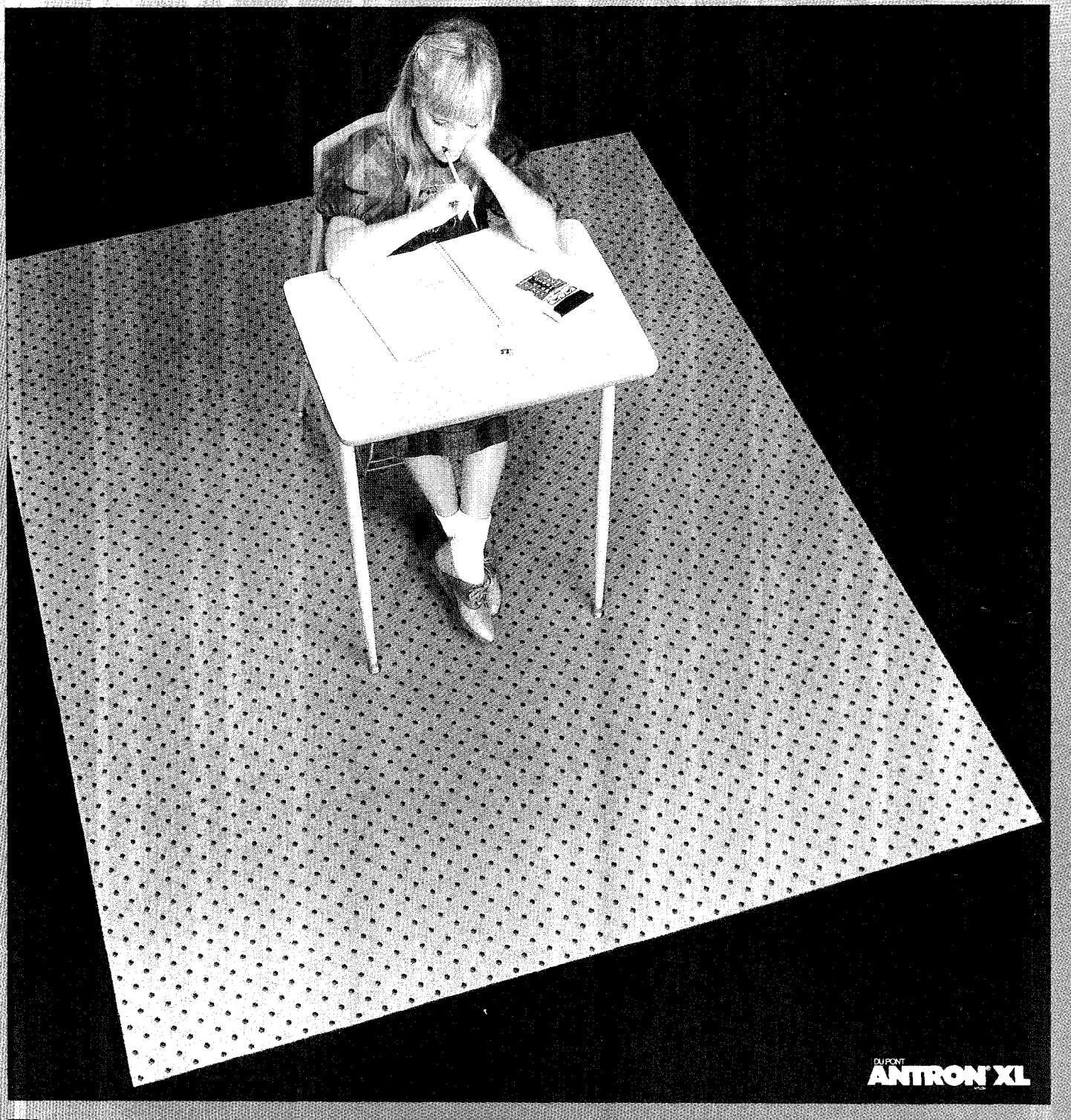
The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 72 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

1 E	2 O	3 G	4 A	■	5 F	6 N	■	7 J	8 W	■	9 P	10 C	11 H	12 E	■	13 I
14 V	15 K	16 B	17 S	■	18 F	19 O	20 X	■	21 R	22 Q	23 L	24 M	25 G	■	26 B	27 I
28 J	29 C	■	30 N	31 O	32 H	33 D	34 S	■	35 U	36 V	■	37 X	38 F	39 K	40 A	41 R
■	42 T	43 G	■	44 U	45 W	■	46 H	47 B	48 P	49 E	50 I	51 K	52 M	■	53 A	54 J
55 Q	56 V	57 B	58 S	59 G	60 D	61 T	62 W	■	63 L	64 E	■	65 O	66 H	67 C	68 R	69 F
70 J	■	71 Q	72 B	73 N	74 X	75 A	■	76 P	77 G	78 V	■	79 S	80 K	81 D	82 O	■
83 I	84 E	85 N	86 T	87 M	88 B	89 F	■	90 H	91 A	92 S	■	93 W	94 G	95 E	96 Q	■
97 J	98 L	99 A	■	100V	101I	■	102P	103F	104R	105S	■	106D	107O	108J	109X	110E
111U	112K	■	113L	114M	115C	116W	117B	118T	119Q	120F	121N	122P	123A	■	124E	125J
■	126D	127X	128L	129U	130O	131W	132H	■	133A	134X	135E	136P	■	137R	138G	139K
■	140S	141V	142Q	143E	■	144H	145J	146O	147G	148A	149F	150E	151U	152P	153S	■
154Q	155L	■	156A	157O	158E	159X	160H	161C	162I	163N	164D	165M	166J	■	167X	168M
169R	170O	171I	172G	173B	174L	175H	176S	177T	■	178V	179C	■	180F	181C	182G	183U
■	184Q	185G	186B	187P	188W	■	189B	190I	191D	■	192R	193C	194K	195F	196V	197B

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EDVIRONMENTS™



The new math.
EDvironments™ modular carpeting starts with 18 x 18 and the benefits keep multiplying.

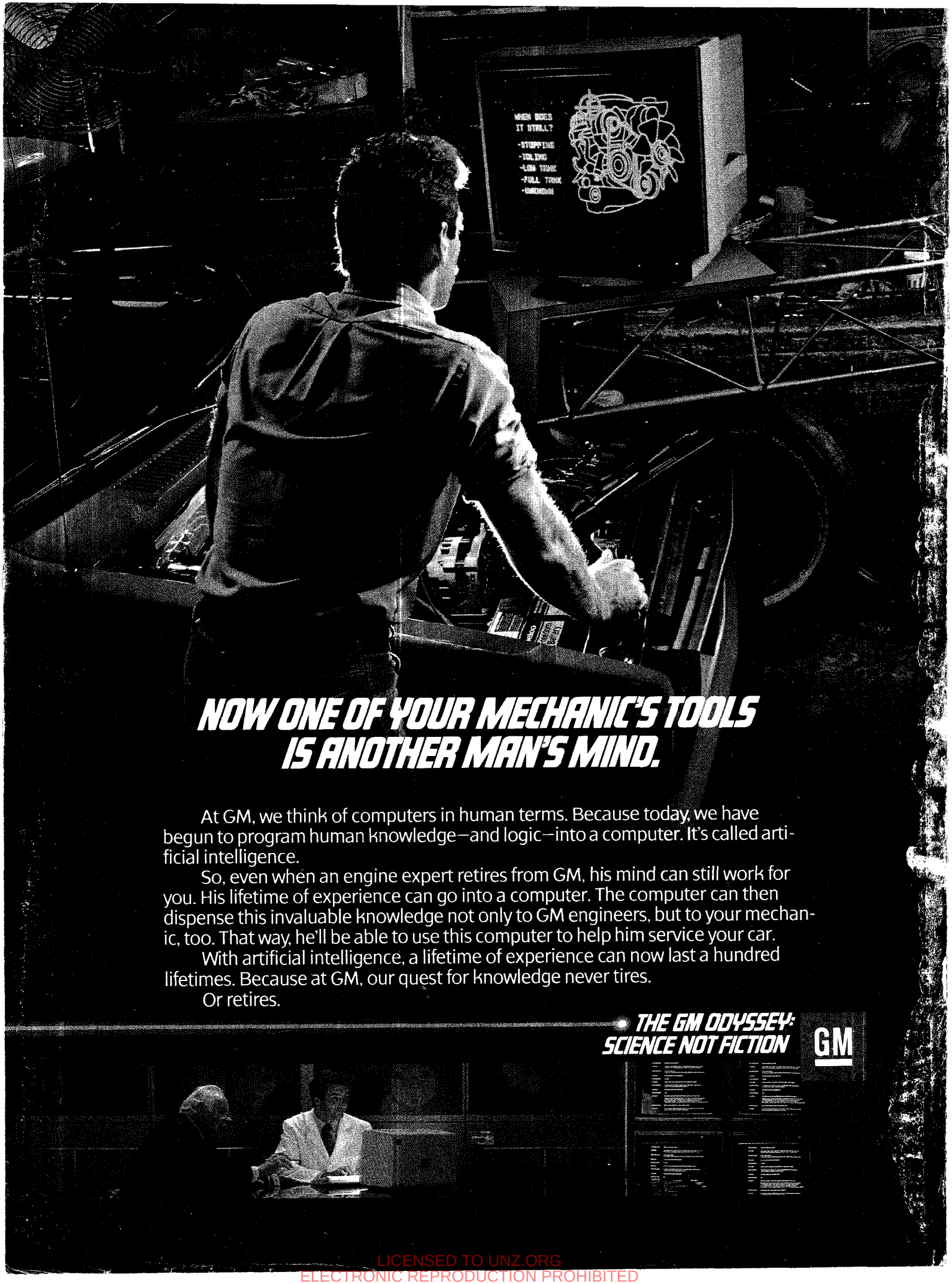
The EDvironments™ modular carpet concept is simply beautiful...and beautifully simple. Each 18" x 18" carpet tile fits snugly up against the next, for a virtually seamless look. Tiles are easier to handle, install, replace and maintain than conventional broadloom. Warmer, quieter and more cost effective than hard surface flooring.
When you add it all up, EDvironments™ could mean a big difference in your educational environment.
Call Milliken at 1-800-241-2327 for more information.

MILLIKEN

™EDvironments is a registered trademark of Milliken & Company.

FROM MILLIKEN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



NOW ONE OF YOUR MECHANIC'S TOOLS IS ANOTHER MAN'S MIND.

At GM, we think of computers in human terms. Because today, we have begun to program human knowledge—and logic—into a computer. It's called artificial intelligence.

So, even when an engine expert retires from GM, his mind can still work for you. His lifetime of experience can go into a computer. The computer can then dispense this invaluable knowledge not only to GM engineers, but to your mechanic, too. That way, he'll be able to use this computer to help him service your car.

With artificial intelligence, a lifetime of experience can now last a hundred lifetimes. Because at GM, our quest for knowledge never tires.

Or retires.

THE GM ODYSSEY:
SCIENCE NOT FICTION

GM

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED